

Sacro-sancta Regum Majestas:
OR THE
SACRED and ROYAL
Prerogative
OF
Christian Kings.

Wherein *Sovereignty* is by Holy Scriptures,
Reverend Antiquity, and sound Reason
asserted, by discussing of five Questions.

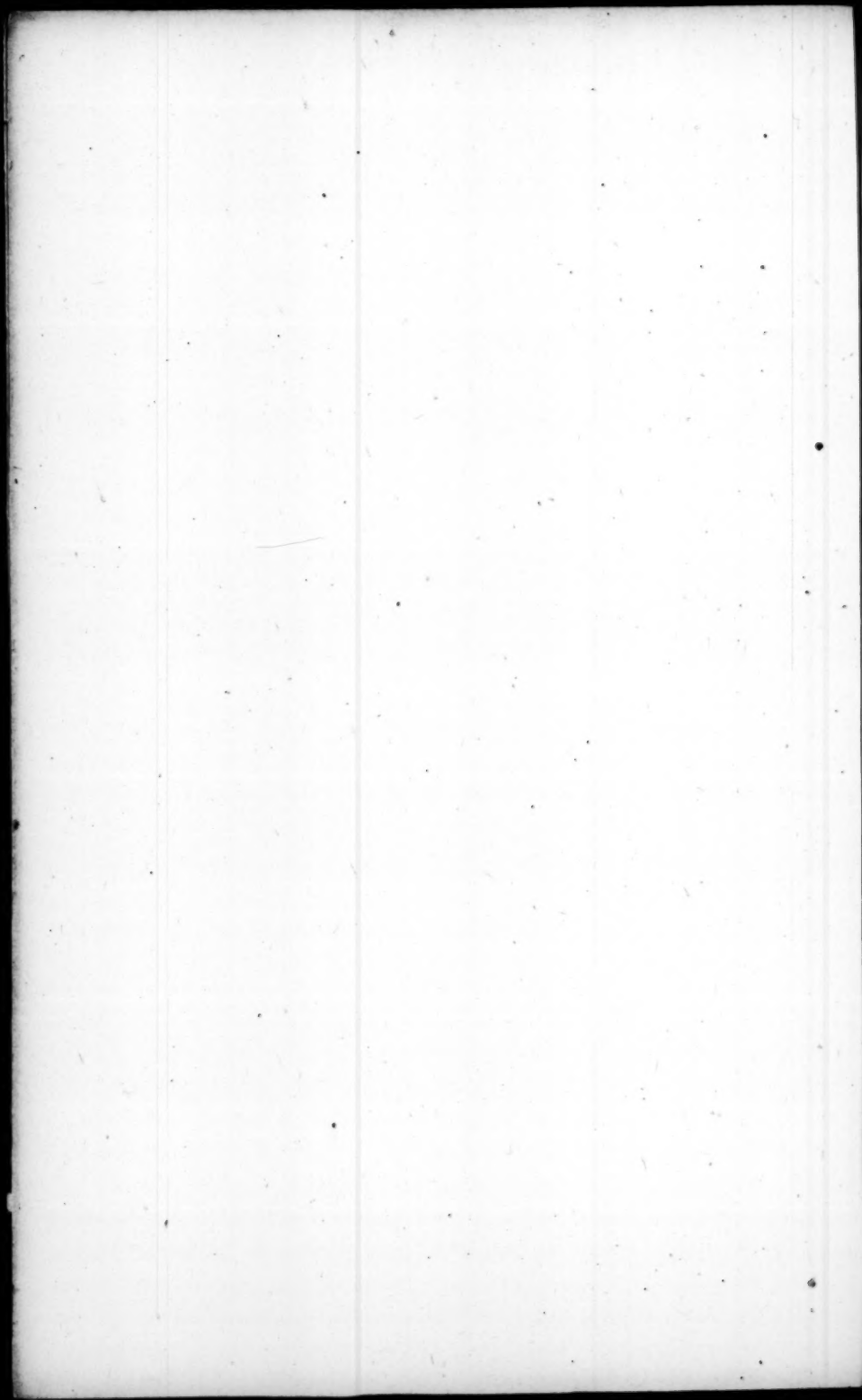
AND

The Puritanical, Jesuitical, Antimonarchical Grounds
are disproved, and the untruth and weakness of
their new-devised-State-principles are discovered.

Rom. 13. 1, 2. *The Powers that be are ordained of God.
Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*

Dei Gratia Mea Lux.

London, Printed for Tho. Dring, over against the Inner-
Temple-Gate in Fleet-street, 1680.



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1762th May. 10.

William Field 1844

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THE
ROYAL
ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

OF
LONDON
The Institute is by the
Honorary Secretary and General Secretary
of the Royal Society of Medicine
and the Royal Society of Arts
and the Royal Society of Medicine
and the Royal Society of Arts
and the Royal Society of Medicine
and the Royal Society of Arts



TO THE

DUKE of ORMOND.

MY LORD,

Pietery and Policy, Church and State, Prince and Priest are so nearly and naturally conjoynd in a mutual Interest, that like to Hippocrates his Twins, they rejoyce and mourn, flourish and perish, live and dye together. Sound Reformed Catholick Protestants deny justly such a Subordination of the Prince to the Priest, as by any direct or indirect over-ruling Power, the Crown and Scepter are under any coactive (directive we acknowledge) over-ruling Power of the Mitre; and that Kings by any Church-man or men whatsoever, Pope or Presbytery, are censurable, deabronable, depofable. Notwithstanding it is certain, Religion hath a mighty Influence upon State, Governour, and Government, that from the happinefs and quiet of Religion iffeth forth necessarily the happinefs and quiet of the Civil State. The Heathen did fee this, that Religion rightly ordered is the Base and Bottom, upon which King and State are founded; Religion is the cement of all Societies, *οὐρανὸς δεῖμα*; it bindeth Families together, and Cities too, and is their greatest splendour and ornament; *καὶ τὸ Νέγμαμα πόλεων εὐσεβείας πόνος*. That one saith Religion is *οὐρανὸν ἀνδρῶν κοινῶν*; and a

Burypides
in Bacch.

Idem ibi-
dem.

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Plutarch. Christian to the same purpose, Religio & timor Dei, solus est qui custodit hominum inter se Societatem; Religion and the Fear of God, and nothing else preserveth all Societies amongst men; Religion teacheth Kings how to rule, and Subjects how to obey, maketh Obedience complete, universal, entire in all things, not partial in some things onely; it teacheth our Reverence, Service, and Obedience, not to be outward with Eye-service, but sincere, for Conscience sake, as in the sight of the Lord. Religion hath a powerful influence upon Laws; the Heathen who termed Religion the Cement of all Society, calleth it too, συνελκόν νομοθεσίας, the Cement, the Strength, the Vigour, the Life of all Laws. This made Zoroaster authorise the Laws by Horomafis, Zamolxis by Velta, Trismegistus by Mercurius, Minos by Jupiter, Charondus by Saturnus, Draco and Solon by Minerva and Apollo, and Numa Pompilius by Aegeria. Religion is the Nurse of the Quiet of State and Common-wealth; *ei πάντες οἱ κρινόμενοι δασεῖς εἴεν, ἥτιον αὐτῶς ἐδέλειν περὶ τὰς ἀλλήλους ἀνόσιον τὴν ποιεῖν. καὶ περὶ ἑαυτὸν.* If all living in one Society and Kingdom were pious and religious, none would wrong themselves or others. Take it more fully from a Christian Emperour, *ὑπερ ὅν εἰρῶν φυλαττομένη, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμῶν εὐδυνήσι πλεόνεμα.* If Religion be preserved in Peace, it rights and facilitates all the rest of the Government. Religion is the Walls, Strength, and Safeguard of King and Kingdom; *ἐνόςθου μία φυλακή.* Overthrow me Sion, Civitatem Veritatis & Sanctitatis, and you cannot but over-

Plutarch.
Lactant. de
ira Dei.
cap. 1.

Rom. 13.

Plutarch.

Xenophon.
in Cyropa-
dia, lib. 8.
l. 16. in
qualibet.
de Episc.
& Cleric.
C. Theod.
Justinian.
Novel. 42.
Trismegi-
stus apud
Lactanti-
um, l. 2. In-
stit. c. 16.

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overthrow Jerusalem, Civitatem justitiæ: all this is much more and solely verified of the Christian Religion: a strange Wonder then it is, that so many Achitophels and Achans in the World should promise to themselves, undertake to Christian Kings, by sacrificing the Church, undoing the Solemnity of the Service and Worship of God, destroying Christ his Ordinances, robbing him of his Patrimony and Right, to establish King and Kingdom, Peace and Quiet in the Land. How is it probable or possible, Religion being the Base and Bottom upon which all Happiness of King and Kingdom are grounded and founded, the Cement and Bond that tieth all together; the Rule of Right ruling, the Mother of entire and hearty Obedience, the life of Laws, the use of Quiet, and Strength of all Defence, that it being disordered, King, Kingdom, and State can be well, and enjoy any kind of Happiness?

If neither the Dictate of Nature, nor sacred Truth revealed in holy Word should confirm this Truth; the sad and doleful Experience we find, we feel this day in the Acheldama of these Kingdoms, has laid it open to our Eyes in Letters of Blood, that he that runneth by may read it. Consider how since the Sacred Hierarchy, the Order instituted by Christ for the Government of his Church, constituted by the Apostles, and continued against any prevalent Opposition for fifteen Ages and upwards, without Interruption, hath been opposed, that in some places it is totally overthrown, in other places disgraced, weakened, and threatned with Abolition of Root and Branch, what is the Condition of Sovereignty and Subject? You shall find that the Course against it hath been a preparatory Destructive to Royalty, to the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject. Many are deceived, and think it skilleth not what Government, be in the Church; it is enough if the Essentials and Fundamentals of Faith and Worship be preserved. They are infinitely deceived,

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no Society can subsist without Government, and if you destroy the Government, neither can the sound Faith, nor the true Worship be long maintained. The Apostle intimateth this, Col. 11. 5. that he joyed to behold their Order, and the stedfastness of their Faith in Christ. First, their Order; then the stedfastness of their Faith in Christ, implying, where right Order is not maintained, stedfastness of Faith in

Christ cannot continue: A Holy Father to this purpose saith well, τῆς μὲν καὶ ἀσφάλειας τῶν ὄντων, Order is the Mother and Security of the Being of all things that have Being. Do we not see that the Order and Government of the Roman Church doth this day preserve their Humane Inventions and unwarrantable Superstitions, in such Safety, that, alas, Truth doth not prevail much upon them are within her Communion? and on the other part, our Disorder, and not settled Government, maketh us lose too too much, and gain too too little.

Look a little upon the Parallel, and consider how since Episcopacy hath been infested, and may too much given to a prevalent Faction, what malign Influence this course hath had upon Sovereignty, and it will make it appear, that the Mitre cannot suffer, and the Diadem be secured. It was maintained, that Episcopacy was none of Christ's Institution, it was onely the positive constitution of man. Hath not Royalty been thus entertained? Do not our Sectaries impudently maintain, that Kings are the onely Extract of the People, having their Being and Constitution by derivation from them? Do they not hold, that howsoever Episcopacy is a tolerable government of the Church, yet it is mutable, at the pleasure of the Church? And do they not answerably aver, that the collective or representative Body of the Community, may, upon any real or fancied Exigent, mould themselves into an Aristocracie or Democracie? Others more desperately have reached higher, and give out, that the Sacred Hierarch

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Hierarchy is Antichristian, against Christ and his Scepter, (not being able because of their Ignorance to difference betwixt Christian Hierarchy, and Romish Hieromonarchy.) Have not the Authors and Abettors of these Paradoxes in Divinity, invented and vented as blasphemous Principles against the Lord's Anointed in Policy? Do they not magisterially determine that Kings are not of God's creation, by authoritative commission, but onely by permission, extorted by importunity, and way given, that they may be a scourge to a sinful People? Nor is this all; these late distempers have produced Creatures not of Christ's making, Ruling Elders, who are adopted to be Ecclesiastical Persons, with equal Power with men in holy Orders, to decide and determine in matters of Faith, Worship, and in the exercise of the Power of the Keyes; nothing kept from them but liberty to Preach publicly, to baptize, and to consecrate the blessed Eucharist. Answerable to this, find we not, that they have erected a coordinate, a coequal, a corrival Power with Sovereignty, and have made Regnum in regno, two Sovereigns, a thing incompatible with Supremacy and Monarchy? the persecution of Episcopacy has been so hot and cruel, that I dare say, look upon all Persecutions recorded in Ecclesiastical Story, none can parallel this, if ye consider it as it is cloathed with all its circumstances, and attended with its consequents; Episcopacy, after the most exact and sollicit Tryal, is onely the Crime, except you will add the Solemnity of the Publick Worship intended and attempted, to vindicate God's Service from prophaneness and contempt, and to restore it to its ancient true beauty, to the shame of the Roman Church. Men innocent, men well deserving of the Church and Kingdom, have been cast out, their Estates seized, their Houses rifled and plundered, their Blood thirsted after, their poor Wives forced to fly, some into mountains and wilderness, some by Sea, some one way, some another; their poor Children forced to starve, or beg at best; O barbarous

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and inhumane Cruelty, more beſeeming Cannibals than Chriſtians! When the Lord's Prophets were hurt and wronged, was the Lord's Anointed not touched? Tell it not in Gath, publiſh it not in the ſtreets of Aſkalon, leſt the Daughters of the Philiftims rejoyce, leſt the Daughters of the uncircumciſed triumph. The beſt of Kings, in whom malice it ſelf, how quickſighted ſoever, cannot find any thing blame-worthy, (except it be a Crime to be too good and tranſcendently clement) hath been forced to flie from his Palaces, could not find Safety in that City, enlightened and enriched by his royal Preſence, to the Admiration and Envy of the whole World. His royal Conſort neceſſitated, for perſonal Security, and in a prudential way to provide for ſtrengthening her Lord, the beſt of Huſbands, to flie beyond Seas. That Royal Family, thoſe Olive-branches, the Pledges and Hopes of our continuing Peace, divided one from another, and to this day remaining ſo. His Revenues, his Casualties ſeized by thoſe have ſent out Armies and Arms againſt him. His Forts, his ſtrong Holds taken from him, his Royal Navy employed to deſtroy him, keep all Encouragement of Allies from him, and to divorce perſonally (if they could) thoſe royal Perſonages in whom we are moſt happy, if we had Eyes to ſee it whom in Heart and Affection the Devil and his Malice cannot divide, notwithstanding it hath been ſhrewdly endeavoured. More of this kind might be added, but of purpoſe I forbear it.

If we will conſider what private men have gained, ſince God and Religion have been wronged, we will find we have made an unhappy Choice, a miſerable Change. No man hath Protection or Direction by Law, no known Law hath place, we are all oppreſſed and tyrannically over-ruled by an arbitrary Power, placed in a wrong hand; all Religions (if I may call Sects ſo) are tolerated, except the true Catholick Reformed Religion; and all
He-

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Hereſies buried long ago in Hell, are revived, in number like to be more, and in their nature more ugly than all recorded by Epiphanius and St. Auſtin; our Sectaries agreeing only in the deſtructive part, to make away Truth and the true Government, to ſpoil Churches, rob Chriſt of his Patrimony, abrogate the Solemnity of the Worſhip, deſtroy ancient Chriſtian Monuments: but in the poſitive not one agreeing with another; Ephraim ſmiting Manaſſeh, and Manaſſeh, Ephraim, and both of them againſt Judah. Hath any now the Liberty of his Perſon? are not the beſt of Subjects, the beſt of God's Servants kept in Priſons, like to Jeremie's Dungeon? What Property is reſerved? Since Chriſt's Patrimony hath been deſpoiled, who can ſay, This I have? They command what portion, what quota they will, and in the end he will be a Malignant at Pleaſure, that hath any thing to maintain this Rebellion. If S. Auſtin were living now, he might well ſay, Quod non capit Chriſtus, hoc rapit fiſcus. What ſtately Houſes have been ſpoiled? What rich and princely Furniture hath been deſtroyed? What Blood of Nobles and generous Gentry hath been ſhed? More in this uncivil Rebellion, in this ſhort time, than in many years in long continuing Wars in many Countries beyond Seas: this Loſs cannot be valued, it infinitely ſurpaſſes all other Loſſes beſides. And yet give me leave to ſay it, if we will look upon the Preſſures and Sufferings of the Subject, the only Effects we feel of this glorious ſo much talked of Reformation, they will transcend highly all Grievances complained of in the ſucceſſive Reigns of ſeven Sovereigns. And the greateſt of all Judgments have fallen, upon us, that ſome ſort with the Prophet Hoſea, We have no King, becauſe we feared not the Lord, what then ſhould a King do to us? They have ſpoken words, ſwearing falſely in making a Covenant: thus Judgment ſpringeth up as Hemlock in the Furrows of the Field. Hoſ. 10. 3. 4. A Redreſſ of theſe Diſorders, a Remedy
of

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of these Evils, we need not to expect, till we turn to God by Repentance, and Moses and Aaron be again rightly seated in their Power, their Place.

My Lord, I have put Pen to Paper to right our gracious Sovereign, to undeceive his Subjects, making it appear, that his Right is independent from man, solely dependent from God: that Monarchy is the most countenanced, the most authorised Spece of Government by Almighty God; that the conveyance of this Right is not by Trust from the People, and have cleared, what are Jura Majestatis, the Prerogatives inherent in the Crown, incommunicable to the Subject; and how Sacred his Person and Charge is, that they cannot be opposed, are not to be resisted. A task it is above my strength. In the Imperial Law it is a crime mixt with Sacrilege, to argue the Right and Power of the King; nor was it allowed to every vulgar and ordinary Pencil to draw the Picture of Alexander the Great: and we see what advantage the Seditious and Factions have made of the escapes of some Pens: Notwithstanding I am necessitated to meddle with it, with no less constraining and unavoidable necessity, than that made the young dumb Prince speak. All men are tied to the maintenance of Sovereign Right, none amongst men more than Church-men; it is a necessary truth, as aptly, plentifully, and purposedly set forth in Gods Word as any else, Prince and Priest were once joyned in one Person, and are so tied that

Alterius

Alteria poscit opem res, & conspirat amice.

We find onely three Office-bearers anointed by God, King, Priest, and Prophet; who then more tied to maintain the Lord's Anointed and his Right than Priests and Prophets? God hath honoured Kings to be the Nurse-fathers of his Church; nor when we reflect upon by-gone Story, find we that ever the Church had either Beauty, Plenty, or Progress, but under Monarchy; and view this day the condition

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dition of the Christian Church under any other Government than Monarchy, and we will find her condition but sorry and poor. It is the onely Government which is most commended and magnified in Holy Writ. And I dare to say, that none or all of them who ever writ purposely of Politicks, or in an Historical way laid down Political Maxims, whether it be Plato in his fancied Republick, or Aristotle in his Politicks, or Cicero, or Livie, or Dionysius Halicarnassensis, or Cornelius Tacitus, or who besides, either by Art or Story, is most renowned this way, have given us so fully, so apertly, the Right of Monarchy, the true prescript of Government, and perfect Rule of Obedience to the Subject. The Ancient Fathers and Martyrs, whilst Emperours were Heathenish and Persecutors, have delivered this Doctrine, pleaded the Sacred Royal Prerogative of Emperours, and with other Truths have sealed this with their Blood. Who can deny then, but it becometh a Divine most of all men to maintain or write of this subject? A wonder then it is that some Smatterers in Divinity writing in this subject, do borrow Principles from old Poetical Fables and Toyes, make premises, and infer Conclusions, not onely destructive of Monarchy, but also contradictory to that Truth Scripture hath revealed. Like to them are our Pettifoggers in the Law, (I reverence Learned Jureconsults, who deserved well in this subject) who cry out, what have Church-men to do to dispute the King's Right? that belongeth to us, who are versed in the Laws of the Kingdom, and know what Power the Law alloweth the King, what not; these Ignaroes, who are better versed in the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, than in the Acts of Christ and his Apostles, may even as well go about not to authorize the Book of God, except it be warranted by their Law, as to aver that the King hath nothing immediately from God, nor no Sacred Right but what He hath by Law. More learned Lawyers than they can be, as Bodin, Barclay, and others, have treated of
this

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this matter, and made as good Use of Scripture and Holy Fathers writing, as any other Warrant besides.

It is more than evident then, that no men are more obliged, no men may be more fitted to maintain the Royal Prerogative of Kings than Divines. But *Officiis quis idoneus istis?* I confess my weakness, my insufficiency, and am forced to have recourse to a Patron worthy of it, and able to maintain it. I could hit upon no subject more worthy of so great a Personage as you are, nor a Patron so worthy, so enabled to maintain it and its poor Author, as your Lordship. Nobles are amongst Subjects the first-born; the ennobled

amongst the Romans had a badge of a Moon or Plutarch. Crescent, in Plutarch's judgment not so much to in Probl. signifie the instability or frailty of their Place Prob. 72. and Honour, as to put them in mind to be obedient and loyal to their Prince, the Fountain of their high Dignity, as the Sun is to the Moon; for your high Nobility by a long continued race transmitted to you from most noble Ancestours, to write or recite it, were as to light a candle to add light to the Sun in his strength, in his vertical point, and that transmitted so from them, and derived to you, that in that whole Stem, the Root and all Branches, who inherited the Honour, not any tainted with Disloyalty. Nay; their Honour is higher, some of them have had the honour to dye in the highest Bed of Honour, to lose their Lives and great State and Honour for Loyalty to Royalty. This is nothing yet but *ἐννεία*, the splendour of Birth, the glory due to those of whom you are descended.

Nam genus & Proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.

True Nobility, besides these, requireth not onely the inheritance of Riches, (for that is but *Antiquæ & inveteratæ Divitiæ*, as Athlary writ to the Senate of Rome) with the inheritance of Honour, for that it is a Body empty of a living Soul; but it is to inhe-

Cassiod. l. 8.
Var. c. 19.

rit

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rit the Noble Honour of Noble and Generous Ancestours.
 Nobile (saith Aristotle.) id est quod ex bo-
 no genere prodit, generosum quod à sua na-
 tura non degeneravit. I de nat.
anim. c. I. Herein you all meet,
 for Honour and Virtue do contest for the Excellency, but
 Virtue truly bath the Eminency. In you is verified that of
 the Lyrick Poet.

Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis :

Est in iuvenis, est in equis Patrum

Virtus, nec imbellem feroces

Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Malice it self, how ingeniously witty soever, cannot preju-
 dice you in this, whose Piety is admirable, whose Wisdom
 and Prudence is above Age, above the ordinary and all your
 Equals, a master of your Passions, and so experienced in
 matters of State and Government, that it is a wonder to
 them who know you, and incredible to those that have not
 been eye and ear witnesses. Your Heroical magnanimity
 speaketh it self in your Heroick Martial Acts, admired not
 onely by excellent Commanders, not onely for Courage, but
 for Prudence and rare Government ; by which you gained so
 much, that the valiant Annibals and Scipioes there would
 rather sacrifice themselves, than expose You to Danger ; and
 yet you would not act the General, but by doing the vali-
 ant Acts, contemning Dangers and Death, be seeming in-
 ferious Officers, but worthy of the greatest Cæsar. Who
 can consider aright that more than admirable piece of
 Prudence in that Treaty of Cessation in such a time and
 such a case, where You were so assaulted with two of
 the worst extremes of Opinions, enraged both of them
 with the same degree of madness, but must say that is
 true Cicero said *de nat. deor.* Nullus unquam magnus
 vir fuit sine afflatu divino : The intelligent and bet-
 ter sort must confess, that without a great mercy to us
 and

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and more than ordinary Favour from God, this could not have been effected: The better sort are confident, the happy Effects of that Work will make many Souls live, and Your Honour live for ever. These are the Load-stones of all the Honour, the Love and Zeal which have necessitated me to take recourse to Your Honour's Patrocine, that what is deficient in me, and this poor trifling Treatise, may be compensated by that eminent Worth and Perfection is in You. I do confess, I have so many ties by personal Favours received above my desert, that I were the ingratest of Christians if I did not acknowledge it; yet give me leave to speak truth, notwithstanding all these Endowments, if I had not seen, and were not assured, that in none in this Age there can be seen more true discreet Zeal to Christ's Church, and Loyalty to Your Master, our most gracious King, I had never presumed to go this way. I see it, even there and then, where and when Satan had erected his Throne, and Antipas, God and the King's faithful Servant did suffer.

My Lord, God hath sent You to us for a comfort in these worst of Christian times; who knoweth but at this time You are set at the Helm to help the Lord, right his Anointed, and to save a poor Church threatened with ruine? Go on in Your Piety and Devotion, with these Heroical Endowments God hath enabled You, and be assured God will heap Honour on you and your Noble Family for ever, and reward you with an uncorrupt, undefiled, and Eternal Crown of Glory: Which shall be the fervent and constant Prayers of

Your Lordships most humble
and bounden Servant

J. A.

TO

To the Christian Reader.

Christian Reader, this is an Extemporary Piece, which was extorted by the importunity of Friends; who prevailed so far with me, that I chose rather to expose my Weakness and it to the Censure of the World, than uncourteously refuse them. To strengthen Truth, I was able to bring more Zeal and good Affection than any other Abilities. Believe, I write nothing but that I am assured of in Conscience, *in certitudine mentis*, and which I believe to be really certain, *in certitudine emp.* God knows, I am far from temporizing, and he is of weak apprehension, that in this Distemper can expect any great Reward by appearing in Publick to maintain this Sacred Truth; Experience teacheth us, that it is more advantageous to run the contrary course, if a good Conscience could allow it. If the method in handling and proposing these five ensuing Questions be not so orderly, I beg pardon; and that justly, because I follow the Order proposed by the Observer. If the Diction be not so terse and pregnant, I am not able to help it; for by nature I am not enabled to delicate and witty Expressions, nor have I endeavoured by Industry to help those natural Defects. My care was ever to study Truth and Reality, more than flowers of Eloquence, holding that for one (as I am) of small reach, the better way is rather to be *inter reales*, than *inter nominales*. If there be any tart Expression, construe it charitably, as fallen by inadvertence from my Pen, whereas there was no Gall in my Heart. If any will be at pains to examine it critically, and to answer it rationally and fully,

To the Christian Reader.

I humbly intreat him to do it in a Christian and Charitable way, without Passion, for which I shall heartily thank him: And if I be not able with as much reason to answer him, I shall not be ashamed to retract my Errors, and joyn Heart, Hand, and Pen, for him and all Christian Sacred Truth; of which kind I hold those which I would maintain, to be. If any thing in it give thee content, thank God for it, and pray for Grace and Strength to the weak Author, who hath resolved to be a Lover, a Professor, and a maintainer of Truth according to his Power, at whatsoever peril, to advance the true Reformed Catholick Religion, and what may conduce to the Honour of our Church, to the overthrow of that is truly Popery, and to the regaining of all erring Sectaries to the Communion of this Church. And let all of us put up our hearty and humble Prayers to Almighty God to touch our Hearts, that we may endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace; to do good in his good pleasure unto *Sion*, to build up the Walls of *Jerusalem*, to re-establish his Anointed, our Sovereign in His Throne and Right, to set aright what is disjoynted in Church and State, that all of us may be happy here, and receive that Crown of Glory, which the righteous Judge hath laid up for them that love him, his Truth, and Christian Peace.

*Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*

Elen-

Elenchus Questionum.

Quaestio Prima.

Whether or not the King be onely and immediately dependent from God, and independent from the Body of the People, diffusive, collective, representative, or virtual? Affirmatur.

Quaestio Secunda.

Whether or not God is no more Author of Regal, than of Aristocratical and Democratical Power? Of Supreme, then of Subordinate Command? and whether or not that Dominion which is usurped, while it remains Dominion, and till it be legally divested again, refers to God as its Author and Donor, as much as that which is hereditary? Negatur.

Quaestio Tertia.

Whether or not the nature of conveyance of Sovereignty to the King, is by Trust immediately from the People, and mediately onely from God, and as Fiduciary, so Conditional, and proportioned to what measure or portion the People please? or is it intirely and immediately by a Trust devolved upon him from the King of Kings? Neg. prius, Aff. posterius.

Quaestio Quarta.

Whether or not be there any Jura Majestatis, some Divine Prerogatives, intrinsically inherent in the Kings Crown and Sovereignty, which are incommunicable to the Subjects? Aff. Where is explained what they be.

Quaestio Quinta.

Whether or not in any case, upon any reason, just or pretended, it be lawful for the Subject or Subjects, in what Notion soever imaginable, singly or jointly, collectively or representatively, to oppose the Sacred Authority of the King, by Force or Arms, or to resist him, either in a Defensive or Offensive way? Neg.

Elenchus Caputum, QUESTIONIS PRIMÆ.

THE Preface : Page 1. containing the Sum, Method,
and Order of the ensuing Treatise.

Chap. I.

Wherein is maintained, that the King is onely and immedi-
ately dependent from God, and independent from the Body
of the People, diffusive, collective, representative, or vir-
tual. The contrary Opinion is explained, the Authors
and Asserters, some of them, with their differences, are
recited. Page 9.

Chap. II.

How that God is the immediate Author of Sovereignty in
the King, and how he is no Creature of the Peoples ma-
king, is explained and proved by Scriptures. 30.

Chap. III.

The same Truth is proved by more Arguments from Holy
Scripture. 57.

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Chap. XVI.

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ΣΥΝΘΕΣΙΣ.

Sacro-Sancta Regum Majestas:

OR,

The Sacred and Divine Right, and Pre-rogative of KINGS.

The Sum, Method, and Order of the ensuing Treatise.

IT is not my Purpose at this time, to examine and refute the Opinions and Errours of those, who either totally or partially, have spoken against Government, as the *Fratricelli* in the Judgment of some, who alledging their Independency from man, and assuming to themselves an immediate Being or Derivation from Christ, no less than the Apostles, and every way as perfect, would submit and subject themselves to none. Our Independent Ministry looks this way. Or as the *Begardi*, who did hold that the Government of Superiours was only for the more imperfect, but have no Authority over and above the perfect. *Nec Rex, nec Lex iusto posita*: No Superiour, No Law for the Saints, the holy ones, the perfect ones. It seareth me this Age fancieth to it self some such thing; and have learned it of *Korah, Dathan, and*

Abiram, who have gathered themselves together, against Moses and against Aaron, and say unto them, ye take too much upon you, seeing all the Congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift you up your selves above the Congregation of the Lord. Both these Sects were about the end of the thirteenth Age and beginning of the fourteenth Age.

Nor purpose we to meddle with that mad Heresie, of the Anabaptists, who condemn all Government whatsoever as sinful and unlawful. It is an impious blasphemous Error, destructive not only of humane Society but mankind itself. You may read in it their *Antitheses Christi veri & falsi*, published in Transilvania, Anno 1568. The seventh of which is, *That the false Christ bath in his Church, Kings, Princes, Magistrates, and the Sword: but the true Christ bath none, nor alloweth any of those.* We presuppose all with whom we are to enter in Lists, do willingly grant, *That Government is not only Lawful and Just, but necessary both for Church and Commonwealth.*

Neither intend we to refute that erroneous and pernicious tenet of some who held that, *Dominium fundatur in gratia*, that the right of Dominion is founded in Grace or any other supernatural Gift. For it is certain, it is neither founded, 1. *In gratia predestinationis*, in the Grace of Predestination: 2. *nor, In gratia gratum faciente*, in that Grace which is in the stating of a man in the actual Condition of Grace and Salvation: 3. *nor, In dono aliquo supernaturali gratie infuso*, in any supernatural infused Grace; as soundness of Faith and profession of the Truth, or I cannot tell what Character of Christianity they fanie to themselves. Whether or not the *Waldenses*, *Wickliffe* and *Hus* held any Tenet like to these, I cannot now insist to prove

and Subjection, to the transcendent and extravagant power of the Pope, nor doth this Expression differ from the other, *in re*, in the matter or extent of the Power, but, *in modo rei*, in the manner of the thing, as they claim it. And cometh fully home, that the Pope by this indirect Right of his related to Religion, by which, any civil Act or Business whatsoever, with his School Formalities, he may qualifie with such an Ordination and Relation to Spirituals, that directly by this indirect power, he may King and Unking at his Pleasure. Our Presbyterians if they run not fully in this way, they are very near to it. I wish we were so happy this time, as that we had not to do with other Impugners of Sacred and Royal Authority, but Jesuits and Canonists.

That which we have proposed to our selves, in this short ensuing Treatise, is to consider the main grounds by which the Jesuit and Puritan endeavour by no less spurious than specious Pretexts, of Liberty of the People and Subject, of the reforming of Religion, purging it from Error, preserving it in Purity, to rob Kings of their Sacred and divine Right & Prerogative: making them Derivatives from the People, in whom they will have all Supream Power originally and radically primarily seated: So that if Kings fail in Performance of their Duty, the People may supply it, at least in some cases, may do it of themselves: Nay that Kings are accountable to them as to their Superiours, censurable, punishable, and dethronable too. By which the Copy-hold of a Crown is no better than *Durante beneplacito plebis* or *communitatis*, during the good Will of the Community, for by these mens Principles the People are made Judges, and may find exigents, which will warrant them to resume, and to

exercise this power. Puritan and Jesuit in this, not only consent and concur, but like *Herod* and *Pilate* are reconciled to crucifie the Lords anointed. A thousand pities it is, that our Sectaries, pretending such a Zeal against Popery, and who no less maliciously than confidently rub upon sound Protestants, the Aspersions of Popery and Malignancy, do joyn with the worst of Papists, in the worst at least most pernicious Doctrines of Papists. But ten thousand times more pity it is, that the true reformed and sound Protestant Religion should suffer by such miscreants, that sound Protestants should be charged with these Heresies in after Ages. We will be forced to disclaim them, and say with *St. John*: *They were amongst us, but were not of us, and they have gone out from us.* It is not warrantable to be so large in our charitable Defence of any, as to prejudice the inviolable and sacred Truth of Almighty God.

Our work is to examine and discuss some new devised State-principles, set on foot in this distempered Age, which have robbed Church and State of Peace and Happiness, which these Kingdoms of late and long Continuance, have plentifully enjoyed under the Government of our blessed King and his Predecessors, to the Envy of other neighbour Kingdoms and States.

These may all of them be reduced to five great ones.
1. First, that Royal Authority is originally and radically in the People, from them by Consent derived to Kings immediately, mediately only from God. That the Collation or Donation of the Power is from the Community, The Approbation only from God. 2. The second, that God is no more Author of Regal than of Aristocratical and Democratical Power; of Supreme than of Subordinate: and that Dominion which is

usurped and not just, while it remains Dominion, and till it be legally again divested, refers to God as to its Author and Donor, as much as that which is hereditary. 3. The third, that Sovereignty and Power in a King is by Conveyance from the People, by a Trust devolved upon him, and that it is conditionate, fiduciary, and proportioned according as it pleaseth the Community to entrust more or less. 4. The fourth, that Royal Power in a King is not simply supreme, but in some cases there is a co-ordinate Power or collateral; nay, that in some cases the King is subordinate to the Community. 5. The fifth and last is, that the King in some cases may be resisted and opposed by Violence, Force, and Arms, at least in a defensive way.

These are the main Foundations upon which all those impious Courses are built, and which have had such Influence upon disaffected and less knowing Subjects, to raise and cherish these Distempers and Rebellions, for which all sound-hearted and good Subjects mourn. Yet to add the more Lustre to them, there be couched under them, or added to them, a number of specious general Maxims apt to ensnare the popular Faction, which we shall by Gods help clear and demonstrate to be Untruths and popular Sophisms, as they offer in their own proper place. The contrary of what they affirm, we hold to be sound Divinity, agreeable to the Truth revealed in Scripture, consonant to the Tenets and Practice of the ancient Christian Church, and grounded upon sound Reason, deducted out of nature and the best Institutions of Policy and Government.

That we may the more orderly proceed, we sum up all into five Questions; whereof the first is this, Whether or not Sovereignty or the Royal Power of a King

King be independent from all Creatures, solely and only dependent from God; immediately from him, and neither from the Community, the diffusive, collective, representative, or vertual Bodie of the People? In which by Gods grace we will make it appear, that the King is the *derivative* of the *primative* King, *who is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.*

The second is, Whether or not, God is no more Author of Royal Power, than of Aristocratical or Democratical? Of supreme than subordinate? Of usurped and not just, than of just Government and Regal? In which it will appear, that by Gods Institution Regal is graced and authorised above others: that Aristocracy, Democracy, and Monarchy are not, *Species univocæ regiminis, sed analogicæ*, not univocal Kinds and Species of Government, but equivocal, at best analogical; are, howsoever tolerable, and not so perfect, some way defective, and that they degenerate from the true and most perfect Species of Government, Monarchy, in which is *formalis & completa gubernandi ratio*, the most formal and compleat Essence of Government.

The third is, Whether or not, Sovereignty and Royalty be in a King by Conveyance of Trust, fiduciary and conditionate issuing from the People, by a Trust devolved upon him in that portion it pleaseth them to proportion? In which will be evident, that the Trust of Sovereignty and Government is by God devolved upon the King. That all Sovereignty related to God is fiduciary and conditionate, but related to the People is absolute.

The fourth is, Whether or not by divine Institution any man or men, some few or many, have any co-ordinate, co-equal, or collateral Power with the Sovereignty of Royalty? Or whether or not in any case

or exigent, a King can be subordinate? In the Resolution of which Question fitly and conveniently will be discussed, that *In quo formale Imperii consistit*, that in which the essence of Sovereignty doth consist; and without which it cannot subsist; as that it is *supreme, perpetual*, and freed from *all coercive and coactive Power*, which the *Hebrews* call *Imperium majus*, the Politicks *κυρίον πολιτευμα*.

The fifth and last is, Whether or not in any case it is lawful for Subjects, one, any, more, or all to oppose a Prince?

Questio

Quæstio prima.

Whether or not, the King be only and immediately dependent from God, and independent from the Body of the People, diffusive, collective, representative, or vertual?

CHAP. I.

The Affirmative is maintained, the contrary Opinion is explained, the Authors and Assertors, some of them with their Differences, are recited.

WE hold the Affirmative, that the King is only and immediately dependent from Almighty God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and independent in his Sovereignty and Power, from the Community in what Notion soever you conceive it, either as a *diffusive, collective, representative, or vertual Body*.

The Jesuit and Puritan to depress Kings aver, that all Power is originally, radically, and formally inherent in the People or Community, and from thence is derived to the King. In the explaining of this Proposition, there is amongst those who lay this Foundation for the building of their Babel a great Latitude of Diversity. Lately I read in one, who is the Author of the Tract concerning Schism and Schismatics, pag. 29. *We have believed him that hath told us, that in Christ Jesus there is neither high nor low, and that in giving Honour, every man should be ready to prefer another before himself: which saying cuts off all claim certainly of Superiority by*

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Title of Christianity, except men think that these things were spoken only to poor and private men. Nature and Religion agree in this, that neither of them hath an hand in this Herauldry of *Secundum sub & supra*, all this comes from Composition and Agreement amongst themselves. I have given you his words, I should be glad to be mistaken, and crave him Mercy. But as I conceive him, this Position is worse than any I know of the Jesuits, or more moderate Sectaries; both of them acknowledge a Necessity of Government is taught by Nature and Grace, and that the Distinction of Superiority and Inferiority is the dictate of common Reason and Religion: Otherwise neither Nature nor Religion may avoid Confusion or Destruction. God who is the God of Order and not of Confusion, is the Author of this Herauldry, of *Secundum sub & supra*, in the whole Universe, in Church, in State. Hath not God in the moral Law taught it, *Honora Patrem, &c.* Honour thy Father, &c? Do not St. Paul and St. Peter Rom. 13. 1. Pet. 2. 14. v. command this as the Will of God? And did not our Saviour practise it, and his Apostles after him, and after them all the Christian Church? You must take away humane Society in Church and State, if you take away this Herauldry of Superiority and Inferiority. Sure I am, the Jesuits do hold that Government is *ex jure nature*, by the Law of Nature. I hope our Sectaries think no worse in this point than the Jesuits.

I return to the Jesuit and Puritan, who are very like in this Tenet; but give me Leave to say, for as bad as the Jesuit is, in my conceiving the Puritan is worse. Let us make a parallel. 1. First, the Jesuit says, that all Power civil, is radically and originally seated in the Community or Multitude, God having made it the *Primum subjectum*, the first Subject in which

which it is seated. The Puritan joyneth hands here with the Jesuit. 2. Next, both of them say, it is from the Multitude by way of Collation and Donation to one, as in Monarchy, to some as in Aristocracy, to many as in Democracy; so that immediately it is from the People, and mediately from God, and not so much by Collation, as by Approbation. How the Jesuit and Puritan walk along in an unequal pace, See *Bel-larmine, l. de Laicis, cap. 6. Suarez. Defens. Doctrinæ Orthod. contra Sectam Anglicanam, l. 3.* 3. Thirdly, that the People may change Monarchy into Aristocracy or Democracy, or an Aristocracy into a Monarchy, or Democracy, or *à contra*, which way you will; for ought I know, they differ not in this neither. 4. But some of our new State-Divines, do hold that this Power is derived to the King from the People, *Cumulative* or *Communicative, non Privative*, by way of Communication or Cumulation, but not by way of Privation; that is, howsoever the People communicate this Sovereignty to the King by trust, yet they denude not themselves of this Sovereignty. To make it plain, it is in their Opinion no otherwise than as when the King of *England* appoints a Lieutenant, Deputy, or High Commissioner of *Ireland* or *Scotland*, he denudes not himself of his Royal Power, but delegates them with Power and Trust for his Service. If this be their mind, (for I cannot conjecture at any other, and if they have any other Sense, I wish they would make it plain) the King is in a poor case, by such a derived Power: for then as the King of *England* giving to his Deputy or Deputies that power only *cumulative*, he cannot by Reason or Law, seeing *Potior est delegantis quam delegati autoritas*, that the Principal his Authority is more excellent than he delegate's, nor can he

be

be debarred from that right the *Law of Nations* giveth him, *Anticipatione, concursu* or *evocatione*, by procognition, his own proper entire Right, or Evocation, to determine or judge in any thing that concerneth that His Kingdom. If they authorize the People so, let any that hath common Sense judge in what Condition these new-state-divines do put Kings. 4. They aver (which maketh me the more inclinable to conceive that to be their mind, which before we have expressed) that the same Sovereign Power is, (Howsoever derived from the Community to the King) in the people *suppletivè*, that is, that if the King be deficient in necessary Duties of Government for the good of the Church and State, the People by their innate power, may do and supply it. This our Rabbies have not only taught but practised here and elsewhere in his Majesties Dominions; yet in my poor reading I have not found any Jesuit (although I confess by Deduction out of their Principles this Consequent may be expressed) so roundly and right down to say it. It is true that *Bellarmino* saith in his *Recognitions* lib. 3. q. de *Laicis*: *populus nunquam ita suam potestatem in regem transfert, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat: ut in certis casibus etiam actu recipere possit: that the People do never so transfer their power into the King, but that they retain it to themselves habitually: that in some certain Cases they may resume it.* I find a Tenet bad enough, impious enough, sacrilegious enough, but he doth not say, that this power is transferred only *cumulatively*: Nor doth he talk of any *Suppletivè*, actual supply: Only he telleth of an *habitual retaining* in the People: and that upon some cases they may resume it, not in every ordinary case; nor can they do it. It is true, *Bellarmino* expresseth not the case or Cases, He knew it to be difficult,
or

or would have it, it is like, to be a reserved case for the Pope of Rome, when it pleaseth him to determine or define it. But if we may guess at his mind by his Brother Jesuit *Suarez*, read him lib. 3. *defens. orthod. fid.* c. 3. §. 2 and three. and there he telleth you, that he will have it definite and constant in Law, and that extant and evident: *vel antiquis & certis instrumentis, vel immutabili consuetudine*, either by ancient and faithful Records of Law, or by unchangeable and not interrupted Custom. If this cannot be produced, the only case he assigns is, *Si Rex sua potestate in manifestam civitatis perniciem abutatur*, If the King evidently, apparently abuse his Power and Sovereignty to the total Destruction of his Kingdom, (let none cavil that we English *Civitas* the whole Kingdom) comprehending King and Kingdom, for they that have but the Terms of Policy, know that *Civitas* is the whole Kingdom and State, with the King; and *Civis* the true Latin word for a Subject. He giveth his Reason why in such a case this is lawful, *quia potest populus naturali potestate ad se defendendum uti, quia hac se nunquam privat*: because the People may use that power of self-defence with which nature hath endow'd them, for they did not divest themselves of this power, nor was it transferred upon the King.

The Result of *Suarez's* mind is, that if there be not Authentical uncontrollable Records, or immemorial and not interrupted Customs, to determine the Cases, the Judges, the way of Procedure, the Bounds and Extent, *Quos ultra citraque*, How far and no farther; there is no case lawful or imaginable, but in the abuse of Sovereignty to the total Destruction of King and Kingdom, which case as we think howsoever imaginable, yet *in facto esse*, it is impossible; as we will shew after

after in the last Question that this is not warrantable By Gods Institution, nor doth the Charter of Nature entitle us to this Right of self-defence, in this Case to make away, nay, to resist a King. And observe how warily the Jesuit qualifies his case. First it must not be a feared or conjectured case of Ruine and Destruction to King and Kingdom, but manifest and clear as the Sun-shine. Next, That not any case of Injustice, Oppression or Tyranny, doth warrant them to do or act this, but a manifest actual overthrowing of the whole Kingdom, King and all Subjects. Gerson and others of the Parisian Doctors, qualifie the case thus: 1. That it is necessary, that he intend and Attempt the total overthrow and Destruction of the Kingdom. 2. Next, that a jealousy or conjectural Evidence is not sufficient, I must be manifest, as evident as it were written with a Ray of the Sun. 2. To these two must be added invincible and insuperable Obstinacy, which cannot by humble Reverence, Deprecation, Supplication, or any other means else, which becometh a Subject to use in all Reverence, Prudence, and Submission to a Prince be amended: Let God and good men judge, if our case this day be so circumstanced and qualified. Thirdly it is worth our noting, that he speaks not of resuming Sovereignty to the People as to it's proper owner, by which this Resistance or Censure is to be done: but of a natural Power of self-defence, of which the People and Community were never deputed nor divested. That this is the Jesuits mind, appeareth yet more clearly by what followeth: for saith he, *it is not lawful to the People, to restrain or limit the Power which they have once transmitted and committed to the King, Quia Lex justitie non permittit, que docet Legitima pacta non esse rescindenda,*

donationem semel absolute factam revocari non posse, neque in totum, neq; ex parte, & maxime quando onerosa sunt;
 The very Law of Common Equity alloweth not that Contracts, and Covenants should be repealed; and what is once transferred by Donation, may not by the same Law be made void either in whole or in part, nay not when the Condition is to the Prejudice of the Donor. He adds more, That Laws made by a Prince cannot be repealed, or made void by the People or Community, without the tacite or expresse Consent and Allowance of the Prince. No, he adds more, that a Prince doth not *pendere a populo in sua potestate, etiamsi ab ipsa eam acceperit, quia poterit pendere in fieri, & non postea pendere in conservari.* Doth not depend from the People in his Sovereignty and power, although he had it from them; because saith he, while he was a making, or to be made King, it was of them, but to continue to be so, it is not from them. Let me add, with this of Suarez, another passage of Bellarmine, where he contradicts that he speaketh, which before we cited *Recognit. lib. 3, q. de laicis.* The Passage you have in his Tract against Padre Pardo, where he grants that a People or Community may have some power of approving or rejecting of a Preacher over them while he is a choosing, or to be instituted, but not after he is chosen or appointed. He proveth this thus: *Quemadmodum, saith he, exereptus poterat approbare, aut reprobare personam que in Imperatorem proponeretur; ubi tamen Imperator factus esset, illum judicare non poterat; neque in illum ullum habere potestatem.* As of old amongst the Romans, when the Armies or Souldiers did choole the Emperour, The Army might accept or reject him that was to be created Emperour, but being made Emperour and invested in the Empire, the Army was no more his Judge, neither had any

after in the last Question that this is not warrantable By Gods Institution, nor doth the Charter of Nature entitle us to this Right of self-defence, in this Case to make away, nay, to resist a King. And observe how warily the Jesuit qualifies his case. First it must not be a feared or conjectured case of Ruine and Destruction to King and Kingdom, but manifest and clear as the Sun-shine. Next, That not any case of Injustice, Oppression or Tyranny, doth warrant them to do or act this, but a manifest actual overthrowing of the whole Kingdom, King and all Subjects. Gerson and others of the Parisian Doctors, qualifie the case thus: 1. That it is necessary, that he intend and Attempt the total overthrow and Destruction of the Kingdom. 2. Next, that a jealousie or conjectural Evidence is not sufficient, it must be manifest, as evident as it were written with a Ray of the Sun. 2. To these two must be added invincible and insuperable Obstinacy, which cannot by humble Reverence, Deprecation, Supplication, or any other means else, which becometh a Subject to use in all Reverence, Prudence, and Submission to a Prince be amended: Let God and good men judge, if our case this day be so circumstanced and qualified. Thirdly it is worth our noting, that he speaks not of resuming Sovereignty to the People as to it's proper owner, by which this Resistance or Censure is to be done: but of a natural Power of self-defence, of which the People and Community were never denuded nor divested. That this is the Jesuits mind, appeareth yet more clearly by what followeth: for saith he, *it is not lawful to the People, to restrain or limit the Power which they have once transmitted and committed to the King, Quia Lex justine non permittit, quæ docet Legitima potestas non esse rescindenda,*

donationem semel absolute factam revocari non posse, neque in totum, neq. ex parte, & maxime quando onerosa sunt. The very Law of Common Equity alloweth not that Contracts, and Covenants should be repealed; and what is once transferred by Donation, may not by the same Law be made void either in whole or in part, nay not when the Condition is to the Prejudice of the Donor. He adds more, That Laws made by a Prince cannot be repealed or made void by the People or Community, without the tacite or expresse Consent and Allowance of the Prince. No, he adds more, that a Prince doth not pendere a populo in sua potestate, etiamsi ab ipso eam acceperit, quia poterit pendere in fieri, & non postea pendere in conservari; Doth not depend from the People in his Sovereignty and power, although he had it from them; because saith he, while he was a making, or to be made King, it was of them, but to continue to be so, it is not from them. Let me add, with this of Suarez, another passage of Bellarmine, where he contradicts that he speaketh, which before we cited *Recognit. lib. 3, q. de laicis*. The Passage you have in his Tract against Padre Pardo, where he grants that a People or Community may have some power of approving or rejecting of a Preacher over them while he is a chusing, or to be instituted, but not after he is chosen or appointed. He proveth this thus: *Quomodo*, saith he, *exerere poterat approbare, aut reprobare personam que in Imperatorem proponeretur; ubi tamen Imperator factus esset, illum judicare non poterat; neque in illum ullum habere potestatem*. As of old amongst the Romans, when the Armies or Souldiers did choole the Emperour, The Army might accept or reject him that was to be created Emperour, but being made Emperour and invested in the Empire, the Army was no more his Judge, neither had any

any Coercive or Coactive Power above him. Whilst the Cardinal was not *Δαίμων, τῇ ὑποθήσει*, wedded to the Conclusions of the Roman Sea, Truth and Honesty fell from his Pen. These things I observe not to plead for Jesuits, the bane of Christian Peace, nor that I think that there is more Honesty in them, than in a Puritan, but only to put our Sectaries in mind that howsoever their Tenets by Deductions and Consequences are tant'amount as theirs, yet they are more wary and prudent than in their Expressions, for I never see how their *Communicative and Suppletive*, by the most benign Sense can suffer so favourable an Interpretation, as the Jesuits Tenets do. Besides our Sectaries have to consider, by how much more they deteriorate and depress Kings, committing or appropriating so extravagant a Power transcendent above them, to the Community or people, who are the weakest in Judgment, the most instable in their Resolutions and Conclusions, ready to cry to day *Hosanna*, and to Morrow *Crucifige*; ready to cry to *Gideon* now Reign thou and thy Son for ever over us, and incontinent joyn with *Sichem*, and his base Son *Abimelech*: kill his seventy Sons all of them, but *Jotham* who miraculously by Gods Providence escaped: who in Scripture are compared to the raging of the Sea, for their Violence and Impetuosity; and ever casting up dirt, for their Corruption: than doth the Jesuit who will not admit people shall do it, till the Pope take notice of it, as competent Judge by divine Appointment or made umpire by arbitrement. For sure I am, that the most solid and learned of the Roman Church do hold, that Subjects cannot by any be loosed from the Oath of Allegiance till the Pope do it. Again, I pray you to consider what Encouragement it is for Kings and Monarchs to become Nurle-
fathers

fathers of the Reformed Church, when by our printing and practices we abase them so far as to make them the basest extract can be derived from the Community; and that they are deposable and dethronable by the People, upon any exigent they judge fitting. Will not any understanding Prince, chuse rather to submit and subject his Crown to the Popes Mitre, than to the Fury and Violence of an untamed Beast? Where Piety should be, reason and Judgment may be, and if all be deficient, yet wrath may be sooner in one, in him appeased, than in a *bellua multorum capitum*. His Avarice or Ambition sooner satisfied than is imaginable, of that insatiable Beast of the Community.

Fifthly, Our Gamaliels hold, that as this Sovereign Power is originally, formally, radically, inherent in the People, so it is *Reductive* by way of Reduction theirs, that is, in case of total Defailance of a King and his Posterity, or in case a King by just demerit, *excidat jure suo*, forfeit his Right, This Right reverts and returns to the Community again. And in this, for ought I know, both Jesuit and Puritan conspire, only the Jesuit sworn to maintain the exorbitant Pride and Power of Pope, reserveth the Interest extravagant of the Pope. And as Papelings do it *in ordine ad Spiritualia*; So Presbyterians come well nigh it, who will have the King, but *Custos* and *Vindex*, and most put in Execution what the Presbytery or Assembly determines in Gods Case and Cause: otherwise you know what they may do, *Excommunicate* &c. and what follows upon that you know by joyning the Law and the Gospel. *Mat. 18.* It is Christs Command, that an *Excommunicate* shall be unto thee as an Heathen or *Publican*: and the Tenor of the Law runs, *Deut. 17. A Stranger shall in no wise reign over thee.*

Because we are sure that our Adversaries in the *Roman* Church will the next day either strengthen their Tenet, asserting it by the Testimony of our men, such as they will have us to own without all reason, or then that they disclaim this part of the Tenet; by which such extravagant Power is given to the People, which the Pope may do at Leisure and Pleasure; for neither he nor any Council of theirs hath as yet determined it to be *de fide*; and turn it home as a true Brood of reformed Religion, which I most fear, and with good Reason; for when the Jesuits were of late in this our Blessed Kings Reign charged by a Churchman that their Doctrine was seditious, and treacherous concerning Kings; a Jesuit in *Spain* was bold to answer, that the same Tenets were preached and printed by ours, and practised, before a Jesuit was, or ever they did print, gave a Paper with warrand of the Books, as *Goodman, &c.* and it is well known here, what was professed and protested by Father *Knot* in his Epistle Dedicatory to our Gracious Sovereign before his Book, entituled *Christianity maintained* about the time of the Stirs and Distempers in *Scotland*. Because I say, our Enemies are so malicious and subtle to take all possible Advantages to wrong us, and our good Cause, I aver confidently, that those and the like Tenets were never taught nor believed by the sound Protestants of the Reformed Churches; but our Sectaries learned them of their *Bauchier, De justâ abdicatione, Hen. 3. Rossæus peregrinus his de justâ reip. in principem potestate. Hottoman his Francogallia, his de jure regn. Gal. Mariana* and others. And for my part I probably conjecture by the Terms they use that they have borrowed their first main Tenet of the Sorbonists, and others of that kind; who to oppose the Pope his

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Infallibility in Judgment, his unlimited Power, and to subject him to a Council, did dispute themselves almost out of breath, to prove that *potestas spiritualis summa*, was by Christ first and immediately given *unitati*, or *communitati fidelium*: that so the power might never perish, the Truth might be ever preserved, and that howsoever for the time it was virtually in the Pope, yet he had it only from the Community of the faithful *communicatively*, and in case of Defailance, in them it was *suppletive*; and in case that the power of the Church was abused to Heresie or Tyranny, the Pope was deporable (not only censurable) by a Council. This Question was acutely disputed before, about, and after the Council of *Constance*. In the like manner to vindicate the Sovereignty of Kings, from subordination or subjection to the Sea of *Rome in temporalibus*, they made the Community of the people, the prime, first, proper, and immediate subject of all civil Power, intending at this time only to vindicate Princes from the sacrilegious and violent Invasion of the Pope of *Rome*, who most impiously and tyrannically usurped upon them; as *Gregory Nazianzen* says, it may well be that *αὐτοκρατορὶς ἀνθρώπων*, like to a Cooper to right a bowed or crooked stick, will bend it too much to the other side, to rectifie it, so these men to right Princes from the Tyranny of the Pope of *Rome*, run upon the other extreme, for the time not considering it; as the Fathers to shun the *Scylla* of *Manicheism* who imposed an inevitable Fate and Necessity upon all the voluntary actions of man to vindicate mans Will, and Freedom from inevitable Necessity, and to assert to it it's native Liberty; they did run so far to the other extreme; that they ascribed too much to the natural Power and Strength of mans free will, and so

seemed in heat of Dispute to derogate too much from the Necessity of Grace to our doing good. Of which Expressions the *Pelagians* afterward did make use against the Orthodox.

Some there be, who do maintain these Parisians and others, that howsoever they did think Kings and Sovereignty were from the People by their Consent, yet that power was immediately from God. The maintainers of this Opinion I honour much for their Learning and other excellent parts. But give me leave to say it, I do not see how it can be maintained, though I intend as much as any man to construe all men in the best Sense. Do not all of them distinguish *inter potestatem Civilem & Ecclesiasticam*, betwixt Civil and Ecclesiastical power; that Kings and Emperours have their Civil power at first by Donation from the People; but Church-men may be chosen or deputed for sacred Orders or Functions by men, but the Donation or Collation of the Power is from God? Do they not hold that *in fieri*, Kings are dependent from People, but not in *facto*? While they are instituted, but not after that they are invested with that Power derived from the Community? Do they not maintain that they are immediately from God but in Regard of Approbation? That, in some, in this point, they hold the Kings Power, his Constitution *in fieri*, is by the Peoples Donation transferring their innate inherent Right upon him; which being immediately by God approved of, they depend no more *in conservari*, upon the People; their Words are, *Ita quod in possidendo illo (scilicet Impèrio) nullum recognoscit superiorem præter Deum*: that it is so, that a King in possessing his Empire and Sovereignty acknowledeth no Superior but God: which in effect is no more, than when
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any man by Industry or Donation acquireth a Right or Propriety, if he come well by it, he is righteous possessor of it, by Gods Confirmation and Approbation: yet do they hold too, that the people and Community may *propter crimen civile & politicum destituere principem*, for a civil Enormity against the Commonwealth depose and dethrone a King. And notwithstanding, they maintain that the Pope may not, cannot for any civil Crime or Transgression, no nor for any Spiritual either depose a King, *nisi de per accidens*, but accidentally; for they hold that the Pope cannot depose *sententialiter*, legally, judicially, and orderly, a King or Emperour, although he may excommunicate *sententialiter*, legally, and by his own innate Power, as they say; & *finaliter* or *consecutive*, and by way of Consequence, by his Sentence of Excommunication compel or move those that have power to depose him; and so accidentally, occasionally, and by way of Consequence only he does depose, not properly by himself or any Power innate and inherent in him. And on the other side, they hold that the Emperour *de per accidens*, accidentally may depose the Pope; for if the Pope abuse his power and place, to the Damage of the Empire and Commonwealth, the Emperour may forfeit his temporal estate, confiscate his Goods, and what else he holdeth as the Vassal of the Empire, and by this means, that those that have Power over the Pope, (which in their Sense is an Oecumenical, a general Council) to depose and degrade the Pope. So equally keep they the Scales betwixt the Emperour, Kings, and Pope.

To demonstrate these Truths by their Grounds and Testimony, it appears evidently; first, that when they distinguish betwixt secular and sacred power, sacred

they acknowledge supernatural, and immediately by Donation from God: but secular to be natural, humane, and ordinary, by Donation from the Community. Next that they acknowledge God to have no immediate hand in collating secular Power, but by way of Approbation. Thirdly, that they allow the people Authority and Sovereignty not only to censure but to depose Princes, as doth also *Marsilius monand. Patav. ad Ludovic. IV. part, 1. c. 12.* When he hath acknowledged that *Moses, Joshua, Saul, David,* and such had immediate Institution from God Almighty, for other Kings and Governours, their Right he saith, *Provenit immediate ex arbitrio humane mentis*, it is immediately from the free Election and Concession of man. *Jacobus Almyon* in his Tract, *De Suprema Pot. Ecclesiæ & Laica*, q. 20 c. 10 saith expressly, *in sola approbatione dei fundatur quicunque potestas jurisdictionis civilis & Laica*, all secular Power and Jurisdiction is founded in the sole Approbation of God: and that you mistake him not, he telleth you immediately before, that for the Collation of the power it is not, but *Aliquibus titulis creatis mediantibus*, by some Right or Title ordinary, *Scilicet vel titulo successionis, vel hereditate, vel venditione, vel donatione, vel aliqua permutatione*; either by the Right of Succession, or the Right of Inheritance, or by Alienation, or by Donation, or by some way of exchange. See him more fully, *cap. 5. ibidem*, where he giveth you the three ways, which all the Sorbonists conceive to compleat all the manner, how man may be said to have any thing immediately from God. Let me refer you again to another Passage of *Marsilius Patavinus de Translati-one Imperii cap. 6.* Answering that Objection for the Popes power above Emperours and Kings, that the

Pope

Pope Zacharias deposed Childerick and enthroned Pipin faith, *Sed Admonitus in gestis Francorum scribit, & verius, Pipinum per Francos legitime in regem electum, & per regni proceres elevatum: per Bonifacium quoque Rhe-mensem Archiepiscopum inunctum Suiffone, in Monasterio Sancti Medardi. Childericus qui tunc sub nomine Regis in deliciis marcescebat & ocio, fuit in Monachum tonsura-tus. Unde non illum Zacharias deposuit, sed deponentibus, ut quidam aiunt, consensus. Nam talis depositio Regis, & alterius institutio, propter rationabilem causam non ad E-piscopum tam unummodo, neque ad clericorum aliquem aut clericorum collegium pertinet, sed ad Universitatem civium inhabitantium regionem, vel nobilium, vel ipsorum valenti-orem multitudinem.* The Result of all is this, Pope Zacharias did not chuse Pipin King of France, nor un-king Childerick; but the Commonalty and Peers of France did both: and Boniface Arch-bishop of Rhe-mes anointed him at Soiffon, in the Abbey of St. Medard. The Pope had no Authority in the one or other, but a naked Consent, for the deposing of such a King as Childerick, who was a stupid and naughty man; li-ving beastly in his Pleasures; nor the chusing of ano-ther, as Pipin doth not, for most considerable Reasons, belong either to any Bishop, Church-man, or Cor-poration of Clergy, but only to the whole Commu-nity of the Subjects, or to the Nobles, or to the great-er and better part of the whole. You see here Mar-filius speaketh the Language of the Doctors of Sorbon. For you will read their Distinction in answering the very same Objection, that Zacharias the Pope, both in the Deposition of the one, and Constitution of the other, had a hand *consensive*, not *authoritative*, by a naked Assent, not by authoritative interposing, or Right in this Act.

To shut up all this, I refer you to one place, by viewing of which you shall have explicitly three, *Jacobus Almayn*, *Johannes de Parisiis*, and *Ockam*, all of them Doctors of *Paris*, and breathing the same thing, with the *Patavin Doctor Marsilius*. *Almayn* hath it, who writ for *Ockam*, and in the words alledgeth *Johannes de Paris verbatim de Supr. Pot. Eccles. & Laic. q. 2. c. 5.* where with *Ockam* he grants that the Pope for Heresie may depose a King, and the people for transgressing against the Commonwealth. But that you may conceive all aright, he saith, *Non licet Pape nec propter civile, nec propter spirituale crimen deponere, nisi de per accidens. Et non pertinet ad Papam sententialiter deponere Imperatorem, licet specie sententialiter excommunicare, & finaliter per censuram Excommunicationis eos qui habent Authoritatem deponendi cogere ut illum deponant. Et sic de per accidens deponit solummodo, & non directè.* The Sense is, It is not proper nor lawful to a Pope to depose an Emperour, either for any civil or spiritual Crime, for Errors in Policy or Religion, but only accidentally. The Pope may sentence the Emperour with Excommunication, but not with Deposition, and so upon the bye, may move the people or the multitude who have Authority over him to dethrone him. And this is done by the Pope not properly but improperly, not effectively, but consecutively. The like he subjoyns concerning the Emperours power over the Pope; that if the Pope abuse the power he hath, to the Disturbance and Hurt of the civil State, the Emperour may forfeit his State, confiscate his Goods, and so indirectly make, move and force those who have power above the Pope, which in their Opinion is the whole Church, or the Representative which is an œcumenical Council, to depose the Pope, and institute another.

To

To these I might add *Gerson* and others, I refer you to *Gerson's* Considerations, and amongst these that you will read the seventh.

I have insisted on this, especially for two Reasons; the one is, that you may see these Tenets came not into the World with *Luther* and *Calvin*, but were long before there was any Word of a Reformer. *Johannes de Parisiis* lived and taught at *Paris*, in King *Philip* surnamed *Puleber*, and *Boniface* the eighth's time, about the year of our Lord, 1296. *Willielme Ockam* an English born, and *Regius Professor* in *Paris*, who writ his Dialogue at the Request of King *Philip*, and after his Death fled to the Emperour *Lewis* the fourth, died as some think about 1320. *Gerson* Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, lived in the time of the Council of *Constance*, and died about 1420. And *Almayn* the first and chief Professor in *Sorbon*, who took upon him the Defence of *Willielme Ockam*, if you will believe *Flaccius Illyriensis*, wrote Anno 1512. a book against *Cajetan*, for the Power of a Council above the Pope, which was printed *Colonia* 1514. All these were prior to *Luther* or *Calvin*. Our Rabbies then have drawn these Doctrines out of their polluted Cisterns.

The other Reason is, because some too charitably, and to the prejudice of Verity, interpret the Authors above-cited and their Kinsmen.

If any man will take and hold them to the better Sense, I will not be contentious, though I profess I cannot see it, yet will it appear otherwise that those are not the Tenets of the reformed, Catholick Church, but the Foppery of Popery. See *Thomas Aquinas* 1. de regim. princ. c. 6. where he saith, *Si ad jus multitudinis pertineat sibi providere de rege, non injuste ab eadem Rex institutus potest destitui, si potestate regni tyrannice abuta-*

abutatur: in which Passage you have, that people may make Kings, unmake them in case of Tyranny. This Book is suspected and for many just and pregnant Reasons not to be *Thomas Aquinas's*, and therefore I refer you to the genuine *Thomas*, 1. 2. q. 90. art. 3. & q. 97. art. 3. & 2 22. q. 10. art. 10. And if I be mistaken of his Sense, blame one of his acutest Scholars who avers it; *Suarez*. 1. 3. defens. orth. fid. adv. *Sect. Angliæ*, ca. 2. And long before *Thomas Aquinas* Pope *Zachary* taught the French this Doctrine, as you may read *Aven*. 1. 3. *Annal. Bôiarie*. *Princeps*, *faiſt* *he*, *Populo cuius beneficio possidet, obnoxius est: Quæcumque n. habet, potentiam, honorem, divitiar, gloriam, dignitatem a populo accipit, plebi accepta referat necesse est. Regem plebs constituit, eundem & destituere potest.* He practised this about the middle of the eighth Age, and for ought I know is the first Divine or Pope of *Rome*, either that said so, or writ so. Some charitably plead for him, and shew how averse he was from giving his Consent: that at first he writ to dissuade them from wronging *Childerick*, who had his Right from God, and writ thus to wash his hands in Innocency. I will not take pains to vindicate him, I leave that Labour to the Popes parasites: yet it is worth our noting, that when *Pipin* and his Complices were about this Treason, to rob *Childerick* of his Crown, although all things were in him that might perswade to such a Course, *Childerick* being but a weak King, a lilly man, drowned and buried in ease and pleasures; childless, nor any near to him: yet at this time, notwithstanding of all those Circumstances, the like whereof, never, I think, occurred before, so odious a Crime it was to depose and set a King by his Throne, though also all France had almost conspired with him; yet

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fearing that the whole Christian World would cry he upon them for such an Impiety, they had Recourse to the Pope, that by a specious shew of his Holiness, and the Authority of that holy Church, this great Impiety and Treason might be countenanced and go current. This President was made a leading case in after Ages, both for popish and popular Usurpation to intrude, nay, to invade upon the Sacred Right of Sacred Kings. Nay, our Puritans have from hence learned to colour and lustre their ugly Treasons and Seditions with the Cloak of Religion and Righteousness. With the intimating of another Opinion of some who make regal Power resident in the People, and from thence derived to the King, I will close this Chapter. Some do hold, that all Sovereign power is primarily and naturally in the (*universitate civium*) multitude, from it derived to the King immediately, and mediately from God. Who intending the Good, Peace and Safety of Mankind, which cannot be obtained without preservation of Order, hath commanded, and by an inviolable Ordinance and Institution, appointed all to submit and subject themselves to the Laws of Society, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake: not only whilst they enjoy Peace, Plenty, Justice, and Protection by the Benefit of Governours, but also whilst they do suffer under some Inconveniences or accidental Abuses. The Reason of which Obligation they make to be this, because we cannot enjoy nor reap the sweet Fruits of established Government, unless by compact we submit our selves to some possible and accidental Inconveniences, from which grounds they extract these Consequences and Consecrations.

1. First, That after a people have by Contract, Compact, or Covenant divested themselves of that
Pow.

Power which was primarily and natively in them they cannot without manifest violation and breach of inviolable divine Ordinance, and without Breach of publick Faith, resume that Authority which they have placed in a King; that being united in one, it may be enabled sufficiently to protect all, and to exert and exercise all necessary acts of Government.

2. The second is, that it were high Sin to trench upon Sovereign Authority, to rob it of its Essentials and native Constitutions.

3. Thirdly, this ordinance of God is not *aliter* but *indivisa*, not without just and urgent Reasons.

1. First, for if that the primary and native Power which is in all and every one, were not united entirely and sovereignly in one, it could not have Strength enough to protect all and every one, and to do all Acts and parts of necessary Government.

2. Next, this Ordinance of God is necessary to prevent those fatal and too too ordinary Divisions, which attend Multitudes, or many endued with equal Power; where almost every one, upon real or fancied Injuries, undertaketh to right himself. The Authors of this Opinion add, That although before *positive Constitution* this is not absolutely unjust, yet Reason informeth us, that it must be fit by some Condition and Agreement to part with this native Right entirely, for a greater good which will ensue; and to prevent greater Evils, which without this cannot be avoided; and to restrain our selves from being our own Judges.

3. Thirdly, that either to resume any part of this Power of which the people have *totally* divested themselves, or to entrench, usurp upon, or limit it, contrary to its Nature, is not only to *disable Sovereignty* from Government and Protection, but also to *loosen*

the Sinews of all Society, no less than of Government, by receding from that Compact which subtle, discontented and disaffected men, for their own private ends, perswade others they might have made more to their own Advantage.

I was sometime in Love with this Opinion, nor do I much condemn it, for it enableth Sovereign Authority of a King with an entire and sufficient Power: it maketh the Person and Office of the King sacred and inviolable: it determineth that it is Sacrilege to denude or divest the King of any part of sacred Royalty, and that the attempt or practise of any in this kind is a bad president, nay, a warrant for the Violation of all Contracts howsoever just, upon any pretence whatsoever advantagious; it reserveth Kings to the Tribunal of God only; it preventeth by the law of Nature the Appointment of God, all Seditions and Treasons, declaring *vim civium in Regem semper injustam*; all Opposition by force, resisting of Kings by Arms, whither in a defensive or offensive way, to be against God and unlawful.

How fair soever this Opinion be, yet I dare not to aver it, nor maintain it: for I can never see where holy Scripture, or reverend and pious Antiquity hath seated this Sovereignty in the multitude, or *universitate civium*, originally or radically, *inquam in subiecto primo*, as in its first Subject: Scripture and Fathers speak it clearly, frequently, that Sovereignty refers to God, as to its immediate Author and Donor; but that it is *underivedly*, *primarily*, and *natively* in the Community, from thence transferred to the Prince, *Ne ulla quidem Lucilianum*, not one syllable. I wish from Scripture or Fathers they would make it appear, that after the Peoples Constitution, there is a superve-

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nient accessory Ordinance to secure the Prince his Person and Function. I leave this, and come to prove by Scripture,

CHAP. II.

That God is the immediate Author of Sovereignty in the King, and that he is no Creature of the Peoples making.

WHen we say that Kings are constituted immediately by God, and that Sovereignty is by immediate Donation and Collation from God, and not from the People, conceive us not to mean so grossly, that this is by any special Ordinance sent from Heaven by the Ministry of Angels or Prophets. The Observator if he conceive there is no other way but this, whereby the *Original of Royalty* may be referred to God as the immediate Donor, he will grant that there were but some few such, as *Moses, Saul, David &c.* But if he know not that some thing may immediately proceed from God, and be his proper work, without a Revelation or Manifestation extraordinary from Heaven, he is as empty a Divine, as I fear in the end he'll prove a Politician. I hope he will grant, that howsoever the Designation of a person to, Consecration for a sacred Function be by the Church and man, yet the power of preaching, administering the Sacraments, binding and loosing of Sins is immediately from Christ. To say this Power were derived from any other is not only unsound, but blasphemous. This Power in its nature is *divine, spiritual, and supernatural*; and consequently cannot be but from such an

effici-

efficient. The designation of the Person to an holy Function is from man or men; but the collation of the Power is immediately from God and Christ, and yet this is not by any *special Ordinance sent from Heaven by the Ministry of Angels and Prophets.*

That the Apostles are of God and Christ's immediate Constitution, none doth deny. That *Matthias* was one, Who will controvert? That he was designated by men is clear, *Acts* 1. Two were set apart, the Decision was by Lots, and yet, I pray you, was not *Matthias* an Apostle by immediate Constitution from Christ? But where read you, where find you any *special Ordinance sent from Heaven by the Ministry of Angels or Prophets.*

To come to Natural things. If the Observator believe with the most part of Divines, that the Soul of man is by Creation and Infusion, not by propagation and traduction, although Man and Nature begetteth the Body, disposeth and prepareth it as a fit matter to be conjoynd with the Soul, that the Father may well be said to have begotten the Son, yet will he acknowledge, that the Soul is immediately from God, and believe it to be so *without any special Ordinance sent from Heaven.*

It were good for our Adversaries to consider, that as the Schools. (see *Jac. Almayn de Suprema potestate temporali, quest. 2. c. 1. & alibi.* See *Gerson, Joannes Parisiensis*, and others; and see *St. Austin, in re*, in effect saying the same, although not in School-terms, in many places, as namely, *de corrupt. & grat. c. 14. De Civit. Dei, l. 4. c. 33. & l. 5. c. 21. & passim.* And to the very same purpose, see *Suarez, lib. 3. contr. Angl. Sect. err. c. 2.* although in his Application he erreth foully) do teach us, A thing may be said to be immediately from God three wayes.

1. The

1. The first is, when it is so *solely from God*, as it is from no other, and *presupposeth no thing ordinary, humane, or created, previous or antecedent before the obtaining of it.* Such was the Power *Moses and Joshua, Saul and David* had. Such were the Apostles, all of them were by God and Christ immediately instituted, constituted, designed to, and invested with Power from above.

2. The second way that any thing is said to be immediately from God, is, when the *collation of the Power, and investing of the Person in, and with such Power,* is from God, as the immediate *Author and Donor*, although there be presupposed or interposed, *aliquod signum creatum*, some previous or antecedent Act humane or created. The Power Apostolical in *Matthias*, and appointing him to be an Apostle, was immediately from Christ, although some humane Acts did precede, and were interposed before his Constitution, as that the Apostles put two apart, and did cast lots. Neither of these two acts severally, nor both jointly, had either virtually or formally in them that efficacy or efficiency to collate upon him the Apostolical Power and Preeminence. A world of Instances may be made in this kind. A man baptized, by Baptism obtaineth Remission of Sins, and the Grace of Regeneration; yet none is so weak as to say, that the *immersion in, or aspersión of Water* effecteth or produceth these excellent Effects of Remission of Sins, and Regeneration. *Lewis the twelfth, King of France*, authorized the Parliament of *Paris*, when one of their number died, or was removed, to make choice of another in his place: yet none will deny, that the Authority and Power of a Judge and Senator is immediately collated upon the Person chosen by and from the

the King of France. A King giveth to a well-deserving Servant the Favour to name any man fitted for Honour to be a Lord, Baron, or Earl, after the Servant to whom the Trust is committed hath designed the Person or man, he is made a Lord, Baron, or Earl. Who is so stupid to aver, that the Honour of a Lord, Baron, or Earl is from the Servant, a fellow-subject immediately? And who dare to deny the Honour is from the King, the Fountain of all Honour? This is easily discerned, for when the act interposed and presupposed to the Production and working of such an Effect, is such that of *its own Nature it hath no natural Contingency with the effect produced, but what it hath by some Resemblance or Constitution.* We must run to an higher and more eminent Cause of such a Work and Effect, of which see more, *infra*, c. 13. where we prove that the interposing of an humane Act in the Constitution of a King, as Election, Succession, or Conquest, impedeth not the constitution and making of a King to be immediately from God.

3. The third way is, When *titulo creato mediante*, a mans Right to any thing he hath power of by *some ordinary humane Right or Title intervening*, by which he is invested with a just and full Right to that is collated upon him, and the *Approbation or Confirmation of this Right is immediately from God*: so that the possessor in possessing what he hath just Right, recognosceth or acknowledgeth *in the right of Propriety* no Superiour but Almighty God.

Now to apply this, for the first way, we maintain not that Sovereignty is in a King immediately from God, by extraordinary Revelation, without any humane Act or Sign created intervening, This was peculiar only to some few.

The second way, we hold that all Kings really so, are immediately from God: for although some *Signum creatum*, some humane and created act, as *Election, Succession, Conquest*, or what else in that kind is imaginable and possible interveneth, to the *Designation of the Person*, yet the real *Constitution, the Collation of Sovereignty and Royalty* is immediately from God; for the Act or Condition presupposed or interposed containeth not in it that power to collate Royal and Sovereign Power: only by Gods appointment it is inseparably joyned with it, or infallibly followeth after it, so that it referreth to God as the *proper donor, and immediate Author*. As in Baptism, if there be nothing repugnant in the Suscipient, the baptized hath from God immediately Remission of Sins, and Grace of Regeneration. Or as in Sacred Orders, the Designation of the person is from men and an humane Act; but the Endowment with supernatural power to act, do, and exercise supernatural Acts, is immediately from God and Christ. *Matthias* his person was designed by the Apostles, but Christ only made him truly and really an Apostle. Just so in the Constitution of Kings, *Election, Succession, Conquest*, or what else, is only *Potestas designativa personarum*; but the power of Royalty and Sovereignty is primarily, formally, and immediately from God.

That we may conceive things aright in this case, we must distinguish three things. 1. First, *The Sovereignty or Royal Power*, which is *forma quedam*, the specifick and formal Essence constitutive of a King. 2. Next, *The Person of the King*, which is *Subiectum*, the seat or that wherein this Sovereignty is inherent. 3. Thirdly, *The Conjunction of the Sovereignty with the Person*, or the Application of Royal Power and Sovereignty to the Person.

The first, that is, Regal Power and Sovereignty is immediately from God and Christ.

The second, that is, the individual Person taken absolutely in its specifick and individual Essence and Existence, is from its natural Causes constituent. But *qua talis*, considered as a King and such a one, that is, as Supreme and Sovereign, the Deputation or Designation of such an individual person for such a Power, is by Election, Succession, Conquest, or any other lawful way by which God in his Providence doth manifest it.

The third, that is, the joyning of the Authority to the Person, is immediately from God and Christ. Election, Succession, or Conquest, may be said in some Sense *remotely* and *improperly* to make or constitute a King, although they are not the *proper efficient and constituent cause* of that Power.

To say in the third Sense, that Sovereignty in the King is immediately from God by *Approbation or Confirmation only*, it is too flat an Expression, and doth not fort well with the magnifick Expressions of Holy Scripture: as, *By me Kings reign*, Prov. 8. 15. *The Powers that are, are ordained of God*, Rom. 13. 2. *I have said ye are Gods*, Psal. 82. 8. *All Power is given from above*, John. 19. *God hath spoken it once, twice have I heard it, all Power belongeth unto the Lord*, Psal. 62. 11. According to this Opinion, the Sense of those and other such places must be, Kings have their power from below, from the People, by Contract are ordained of men, and only established by God, and consequently we must change the Phrase, The People have said you are Gods, your Power is from below: and Saint Paul's ordained of God, is no better than confirmed or approved of God. Nor is the Title or Right

of a King better, as related to God, than the Title of what any man possesseth *titulo humano orato*, by humane Right, by Contract, or otherwise in Rents, Moneys, Revenues, or what else is ordinary in the Commerce and Society civil of men.

In brief, our Sense is, *The Royal Power and Sovereignty of the King* is from God primarily, formally, immediately; *The Designation or Deputation of the Person*, is by Election, Succession, Conquest, &c. as *Matthias* was designed by the Apostles setting of him apart, and the falling of the Lot upon him, but the Apostolical Power and Preeminence was immediately and solely from Christ. The power of the High-priest-hood in *Zadok* was from God; the Designation of the Person was from *Solomon*, a pregnant proof and Illustration of this appeareth in *Jephthah*, Judg. 4. 5, 6, 7. The Elders of *Gilead*, and people by Covenant and Contract bring him home, agree he be Judge and Governour: and yet notwithstanding, 1 Sam. 12. 11. The sending of *Jephthah* is no less given to God solely, than the immediate and extraordinary sending of *Jerubbaal*, *Bedan*, and *Samuel*. A Father begetteth the Child, but God infuseth the Soul. A Woman by her Choice and Consent designeth her Husband, but the marital Power and Dominion is only from God; for how can she confer or transfer that power which was never fixed in her, nay by God and Nature she is to be ruled by her Husband. It is more then than manifest, that an humane Act may design the Person of a King, and that the Power is conferred by God alone.

There is in true Judgment a main Difference betwixt *Potestas deputativa & designativa persone Regie*, and *Potestas collativa potestatis Regie*; betwixt
Appli-

Applicativum persone ad auctoritatem & potestatem, and applicativum auctoritatis ad personam Regis. The first may be done by an humane Act, as a mans hand may apply a Faggot to the fire; but the other, in our case, is proper to God, as the Fire only can make the Faggot burn. It appeareth then clearly, that Power may and doth come from God alone, and immediately without *extraordinary Revelation by the Voice of God, of Angel, or Prophet.*

The Sense and Terms of our Tenet thus cleared, we come in the next place to our Proofs, from the Holy Scriptures in the first place. God in Scripture, by frequent, pregnant, and multivarious Expressions, hath so vindicated to himself the making and constituting of Kings, that he declareth fully that he will have none to share with him in this Work, for he hath told us, that Kings and their Sovereignty are by *God, of God, from God:* that they are *Gods: The Children of the most High: His Servants: His Ministers: His publick Ministers and Deputies* *λειτουργοὶ διακονοὶ:* That *their Throne, their Crown, their Sword, their Scepter, their Judgment are Gods, &c.* and hath expressed it in *abstracto*, abstractly, of their Royalty, their Power; and in *concreto* of themselves with a Connotation of their Persons; to intimate, that they, and all in them, their Power, their Function, their Charge, their Person, are of divine extract: a Constitution of the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; and consequently to teach us, that the Sovereign Authority of the King, and the Person of the King, both of them are sacred, inviolable: God in his Omniscience and Prescience did foresee, that the Sons of *Adam* would be like to their Father in Transgression, that nothing will content them but to be *like God*; and before they

fail, they will juttle him out of his Right, run upon the Guiltiness of *divine Usurpation*, challenging to themselves the Prerogative of the Almighty, Pope and People, Anti-christ-like, exalting themselves above all that is called God. The *Jesuit* this day pleaded for the Pope, the *Puritan* for the People, that he or they have underived Majesty by which they may enthrone or dethrone, make or unmake Kings at their pleasure.

We begin first with the Law. In which as God by himself prescribed the Essentials, Substantials, and Ceremonials of Piety and his Worship; gave order for Justice and Piety: so he commanded the appointing and constituting of the King, to be reserved as a privileged case, a proper Prerogative for himself: *Deut. 17. 14, 15. &c. When thou shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the Nations about me, Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall chuse.* A Law sufficient to prove our Conclusion, that the King and his Power are originally and immediately from God, dependent from him alone, and independent from all others. The Power and Sovereignty is expressed in the words, *Set over thee*: This *Thee* is collective, and includeth all and every one; so Scripture knew not this new state-devised principle, That *Rex est singulis major, universis minor*, above every one severally, but subordinate, to all jointly. The person is expressed in *concreto*, in the Words, *Whom the Lord thy God shall chuse*. Neither is it to be slightly passed by, that so peremptorily, emphatically, and authoritatively it is right-down said, *Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, &c.* Which peremptory Precepts dischargeth the People all and every one, *diffusively, collectively, representatively,*

or in what capacity else is imaginable in them to intend, attempt, or practise the appointing of a King, but to leave it entirely and totally to Almighty God.

Here we must take off some shifts which *Jesuits*, *Puritans*, and others make to elude this and other Texts of this kind. 1. The first is, *That this was a priviledged case of the Jewish King*: So *Suarez. lib. 3. c. 2. defens. orthod. Fid. cont. Sect. Angl.* So *Soto, l. 4. de Instit. q. 2. art. 1.* So *Navarrus, cap. Novit. Notab. 3. num. 33. & 147.* and many more, as *Abulenſis* and others: The Sectary averreth the same. Both of them strengthen their Argument by these Maxims: *Exempla specialia non valent ad inferendum regulam universalem: imo solent esse exceptiones a Regula.* To the same purpose they adduce that Maxim of the *Jurists*, *Valet Argumentum à speciali ad inferendam regulam universalem*: or, *Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis.* The Sum and Sense is, that extraordinary, singular, special, and priviledged cases, are not firm and valid antecedents to infer a general, ordinary, and ruled case: that if we cannot make it appear that all Kings are from God by immediate Constitution, the priviledged case of the *Jews* will infer no necessary Conclusion. *Suarez* in the place above cited, goeth a little further, affirming that God amongst the *Jews* did reserve, as peculiar to himself, the election only of the King, but that *His Constitution*, or the collation of Royal Power, was from the People properly, immediately: and that because the words run in the Text, *Deut. 17. 14, 15.* that the People shall set him King over them, and him only whom the Lord thy God shall chuse. *Bellarmino* saith just the same.

To remove this first shift, we deny both the one and the other. We deny first, that it was a proper case

for the Jews to have their Kings immediately constituted and appointed by God. The Scripture is for us, that all Kings, all Sovereign Powers are immediately from God.

Prov. 8. 15. By me Kings reign, saith a King, and the wisest of Kings, and a King who had good reason to say so; for, if the People had right to constitute or make a King, it had not been King Solomon but King Adonijah. Adonijah durst say to King Solomon's Mother, *Thou knowest that the Kingdome was mine, and that all Israel set their faces on me that I should reign: 1 Kin. 2. 15.* Solomon saith not of himself singularly, That he reigned by God, but indefinitely univerfally, *By me Kings*, that is, all Kings reign. The first two words, *Per me*, *By me*, contain in them the Donor, the Author, the Efficient, the Constituent of Kings and Sovereignty. Possibly you will say, this *By me*, is spoken of Wisdom, it is true; but that Wisdom is to be taken *ὑποστατικῶς*, not for an Accident or Quality, but for something subsistent personally. And this Solomon's **חֹכְמָא** *Chochmach*, in the sense of the most Learned; both Ancient and Modern, is St. John's *λόγος*: *Joh. 1. 1.* Saint John's Word, Christ the Son of God, the brightness of his Glory, and the express image of his Person; Heb. 1. 2. The Text demonstrateth it: for this Wisdom by which Kings reign, is that Wisdom *ἡ διὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, (*ἐκ τῆς* is the right reading, for the Original word is **קָנָן** *Kanan possedit*; nor will the Greek reading *ἐκ τῆς* bring home the *Arrians* conclusion) which the Lord possessed in the beginning of his way, before his Works of old: *vers. 22. Which was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the Earth was, v. 3.* The Wisdom by which Kings reign, is the same that was created of all things. Kings are from

from God the Father, but by the Son ; as from the Father, by the Son, all Spiritual blessings in heavenly things come to us, so the greatest of Temporal Blessings, By him we have Kings, the best Blessing here, for without them neither Godliness nor Honesty, 1 Tim. 2. 2. This *Per* is Christ's Preposition. It is worth your notice taking, that *Solomon* saith not, By the People Kings reign ; had it been so, you know who had been King and not *Solomon* : Nor he saith not, By the High-Priest Kings reign : you know he was engaged in *Adonijah's* Treason, no : He saith not, By *Israel*, nor by *Abiathar*, nor by *Zadoc*, nor by *David*, nor by *Nathan*, Kings reign ; But there is a *Per me*, which is exclusive of all, and to whom onely it is proper and peculiar, to make Kings, and to make Kings reign. *Solomon* excludes *Pope* and *People*, *State* and *Presbytery*. He vindicates the creation of Kings no less to Christ than the creation of things. This *Per me*, by *me*, imparts not a naked Permission, as if Kings, by importunity of People, were given way to, as some blasphemous mouths and Pens have said and written : and that Monarchy of all Governments is the least acceptable to God, and to People most inconvenient. Ignorants, or malicious, or both they are, who dare to say so. Monarchy was the first Government God ordained in the World, and is yet founded in *paterno*. Why, if it be otherwise, was it promised to *Abraham*, as the highest pitch and reach of Temporal Blessings, that Kings should come of him ? Why doth God, *Ezech. 16.* upbraiding the multitude of the People, reckon in the last place, as the highest of his Favours Temporal, That they prospered into a Kingdom ? Why doth St. *Peter* urge obedience to the King, because that is the Will of God ? 2 Pet.

11. 15. Why doth St. Paul say, that he is *tibi in bonum*, for thy good, and for my good, and for the good of all. Saint Paul's *ἑξουσία ὑπερέχουσα*, Higher Power, is nothing else but St. Peter's *Βασιλεὺς ὑπερέχων*, the King that is Supreme. So Chrysostom, Ambrose, Haymo, and others interpret it, and the Government then when Saint Paul writ that Epistle was Monarchical. They be a cursed brood, who do maintain, that this *per me Reges regnant*, This, By me Kings reign, is a *per me iratum*, by me in anger to punish a stiff-necked and rebellious People. The Queen of Sheba knew it was *per me propitium*, By me in Mercy, and was better taught, and sounder in this point of Divinity, than the great Gamaliels amongst our Sectaries, for she saith to Solomon: *Because the Lord thy God, Loved Israel to establish them for ever, therefore made he thee King over them, to do judgment and justice*, 1 Chron. 9. 8. This *per me* implieth then, that they are of Gods making, and in mercy Kings are given to us. This *per me, by me*, implieth, Kings are God's and Christ's Derivatives, and that God and Christ are their *Institutors*, from God the Father, by the Son their Commission, their Power, their Sovereignty; for this cause St. Paul calleth them *στατάρχαι τοῦ Θεοῦ*, which word is very pregnant, and signifieth an Ordinance by high Authority not revocable, nor repealable. In which sense it is usually read in classical Authors Sacred and Prophane. So Sinesius useth the word in *Epist. ad Theoph.* So Aristotle in his Problems. Sect. 28. 50. Lucilius *Epigr.* 2. So Appian in 2. and Plutarch in Marcellus useth, *στατάρχαι τῶν ἀρχόντων*, for established Decrees of Sovereignty. The word from which it is derived is so used, *Acts* 28. Stephanus a Learned Grecian is of that mind, that in this very place, *Rom.* 13. 2. it signifieth so much.

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The Emphasis of this *per me* is not yet fully explained. That wonder of Piety and Learning, Doctor *Andrews* Late Bishop of *Winchester*, hath well observed, that the Original is *ב, Bi, in me* : and yet beareth well, *in me*, and *per me* : the Preposition *ב Beth* signifying both : So that the meaning is, Kings are first in him, and so come forth from him, as that they are in him. He parallels it a little with that passage in the Gospel, *My Father in me, and I in him*. Christ in them, as his *Deputies* : They in Christ as their *Author and Authoriser, he by their Persons, they by his Power*.

The other two words of the Text, *Kings Reign*, contain in them the Charter, the Donation. *Kings*, is in the number of many, in the plural number. *Solomon*, although the wisest of men and Kings, and King of *Israel*, knew not this time what our new Doctors know, that it was a privileged case, for the Kings of *Israel* to Reign by immediate Constitution or Election from God, from Christ. *Solomon* speaks it indefinitely. In the Schools it is a currant Maxim, that *Indefinita propositio equipollet universali*, an indefinite proposition is equivalent to an universal, except they can shew where in Holy Writ it is limited, it is restrained. It lieth on them to prove it, for *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, He who affirms is bound to prove it : Logick and Law both of them require it. The *Jurist* saith, *Ubi Lex non distinguit, nemo distinguere debet* : where the Law it self distinguisheth not, we are not to distinguish. *Solomon* then saith universally of all Kings, *By me Kings reign* : that is, that their Right, their Power, their Sovereignty is immediately from God by Christ.

I am glad that in this Text we met with *Reges, Kings, in terminis terminantibus*, in expresse terms. Nor is it to be slightly passed by, that you have it, *in concreto*, the King with his Sovereignty: He saith not, *Per me Regia potestas*, by me Royalty, Sovereignty, but *Per me Reges*, by me Kings, to intimate that *Royalty is sacred, and the Person invested with this Royalty too*. Solomon for all his Wisdom reached not the Subtilty of this Age, to distinguish betwixt the King, his Personal Will and Condition, and Royal Power, abstractly considered in it self. If you will have it plainly, These Rabbies have found out a Distinction, with which the Spirit of God was not acquainted.

The word *Regnant, They reign*, hath its own force, that not onely their Commission is by immediate Derivation from God, and so they may say, *He it is that hath made us, and not we our selves: Gratia Dei sumus quod sumus*, By Gods Grace we are what we are, and so justly do write themselves, every one of them, *King by the Grace of God*; and so their Title is rightly from God, and their actual Reigning is of him too. They are not onely *Reges, Kings by him in actu signato*, as invested with this Power from above, but they Reign by him *in actu exercito*, their Commands are by him. The actual exercise of their Power is to be considered as God's Power exerted by them. His Deputies. If you please to take it larger yet: *To, regnare in fieri, in facto, in conservari*. To reign, to have a right to it, by Institution and Constitution, to exercise this Power by Commission, to have it longer or shorter time, all is *Per me, By me, and no other: Dat & aufert Regna*, He giveth and taketh away Crowns at his pleasure. The Law teacheth us, *eiusdem est destituere, cuius & instituere*, none can unmake a King, but he on-ly

who can make him. Let the Law plead for it self, stand not for it; Sure I am it is good Divinity. In *Job*, c. 26. 7. We read with St. *Hierome*, (and that without wronging the Original in the sense) *Reger collocat in Solio in perpetuum*, He placeth Kings in the Throne for ever. And again, c. 13. 18. *Solvit Baltheum Regum*. He taketh them from their Throne: or as it is *Psal.* 89. 44. *He casteth down their Crown to the ground*. The result of all is, what can you conceive of a King, in *abstracto* or *concreto*, in his Person, or in his Sovereignty, of his Power habitual or actual, of his Right, or the Exercise of it; of his making, his continuing, his un-kinging? all is *per me*, from God immediately by Christ: and this in *Solomon's* expression is verified of all Kings whatsoever.

A further proof both to fortifie what is said, and to bring home our main Conclusion, we adduce from *Rom.* 13. 1. *αἱ δὲ ἐξουσίαι ἐξουσίαι, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσιν*. For the Powers that be, are ordained of God. *Beza* rendreth the words, *Quaecunque autem sunt potestates sunt à Deo ordinate*. The old Interpreter, nearer to the Original turneth it thus: *Quae autem sunt à Deo ordinate*. I am very inclinable to think that those words relate onely, at least principally, to Sovereignty, and that Monarchical. I do not deny but that by *analogy* and *accommodation* they may be accommodated to all Power whatsoever. The Reasons enforcing me are; First, because they are *διαφανεῖς*, expressly called *ἐξουσίαι ὑπερέχουσας*, High, or Eminent Powers. 2dly, if we will admit St. *Peter* to interpret St. *Paul*, we will find S. *Paul's* *ἐξουσίαι ὑπερέχουσας*, are S. *Peter's* *Βασιλεῖς ὑπερέχοντες*: The Kings that are Supreme, 1 *Pet.* 11. 13. 3. Thirdly, the Apostle St. *Paul* adding, *Ordained of God, or under God*, cannot so properly be understood of Subordinate Power,

er, for that is not by immediate Derivation from God but immediately from the higher Power, or the King that is Supreme, and mediately from God: which made Saint Peter call them ἡγεμόνας, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπόμενοι, *ver, Governours, and such as are sent by the King, who is Supreme.* 1. Pet. 11. 14. Fourthly, many Learned Interpreters conceive the Words so, as Saint Chrysostom, Ambrosius, or Hilarius Diaconus, or whom else you will, under the name of Ambrosius, Haymo, and others &c. Lastly, When St. Paul writ this Epistle, the Government at Rome was Monarchical, Nero then reigned.

This thus established, Let us observe in the next place, that the Apostle speaketh *Universally* that all Supreme, Monarchical and Royal Power is ordained of God immediately. *Besa* sticks not to render the words into a Proposition universal affirmative. *Quæcunque autem sunt potestates, sunt à Deo ordinatæ.* The Apostles own Expression is full enough, pregnant enough. The Relative *αὐτῷ* must in good Grammar be referred to the antecedent ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν: joyn the words cited with the words immediately preceeding, *ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξουσία ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, for there is no power but of God:* and then you shall have this Conclusion by undeniable Consequence, naturally resulting from the Premises *There is no supreme or Royal Power but from God alone:* and consequently, he is the sole Donor, and Sovereignty relates to him as to its immediate Author. Do not our Sectaries reason thus from the Passage, Gal. 2. 16. εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ δικαιῶται ἀνθρώπος ἐξ ἔργων, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Knowing that a man is not justified by Works, but by Faith alone;* that this ἐὰν μὴ, is the equivalent of an exclusive: and so conclude, that we are justified by Faith alone? Why then will

will they refuse that this passage, *ἐν ᾧ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, is a perfect *exclusive*, and is *tant' a mount*, as that no Supreme power is by man or other means, but from God alope. If they shake the Force of this Argument, their strong hold for Justification is overthrown. We observed before, how that in the next verse, those higher Powers are called *ἐκταγή τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the established unrepealable Ordinance of God. And so presumptuous are we now a-days, as to repeal Gods most irrevocable decrees. No wonder we are so insolent, seeing we presume to mend the Creed and Magnificat.

Now joyn Saint Paul and Solomon together, and you have that Sovereign Power, is, *ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and *τοῦ Θεοῦ*; it is by God, from God, under God, and God's Appointment irrevocable, ordinance irrepealable. The three last are the Apostles; the first is Solomon's, for the Septuagint read the words, *ὁ ἰμὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσιν*. This variety and plurality of Expressions how Sovereignty is of God and Gods, the Spirit of God hath used, that none presume sacrilegiously to usurp upon God his Prerogative, who hath reserved this peculiarly for himself, that all Kings upon Earth should be his immediate Creatures, and Deputies by his own Letters Patent authorized.

Our Adversaries have been much puzzled with this Text; if they give us a new Bible, it is like enough either this Text will be left out, or we will have a Gloss upon it to destroy the original Text. It hath so tortured them, that I cannot tell you how many ways they have coyned to themselves to elude it. I have observed five main ones, which I purpose by Gods Grace to examine and refute, *quest. 5.* now

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I content my self to take off one, in which they please themselves much. They say, the Apostle speaketh *abstractly*, not *concretely* of the power it self, not of the person cloathed and invested with the Power; it is an ignorant shift. Barclay in his Book *de Regno*, (who hath deserved well of all Christian Monarchs) hath learnedly and truly observed, that Saint Paul writing to the *Romans*, did keep the *Roman* usual *Diſtion* in this, with whom it was customable and ordinary by *Potestates*, *powers in the Abstract*, to express the persons authorized with this power. He refers his Reader to classſical and good Authors, as to *Pliny*, lib. 29. c. 4. *Juvenal*. *Suet. in Claudio*. c. 21. *Modest*. lib. 27. *de Pignorib*. *Ulpian*. lib. 17. *SS. penult. de Ædil. edic.* *Tertullian contr. gent.*

I content my self with the Dialect of *Canaan* in Scripture; in which frequently Expressions in the Abstract, express existents in the Concrete: *Col. 1. 16. By him were all things created that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth, visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers.* By Thrones, Dominions, Principalities and Powers, uncontrovertedly Angels are meant; that the Expressions are abstract is clear as the Sun-shine. To say Angels were created *in abstracto*, is to send us to search after *Platonick Idea's*.

This instance it may be is too sublime, let us see then if we can hit upon one nearer us, and more fitting for the Purpose in hand. I pray them to cast their Eyes upon *St. Peter*, 2. *Epist.* 2. 10. where giving a Character of the man with whom we have to do, he saith, *That they despise Government, are presumptuous, self-willed, and not afraid to speak ill of Dignities.* The fellow of this you have, *Jud. 8. These filthy*
Dream.

Dreamers defile the Flesh, despise Dominion, and speak ill of Dignities. In which Passages the words in *abstracto*, Government, Dominion, Dignities, without any Doubt do express the persons of Governours, Lords, and Kings. It is worth your notice taking, to consider how zealous St. Peter and St. Jude were for the honour and due of Sovereignty, the ray of Divine Majesty upon Earth, that they speak so passionately and bitterly against such as professed themselves Christians, and did speak Evil of *Cajus*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, monsters of men: O with what a zeal would they be inflamed, if living now adays they did see what we see, and hear what we hear! the pretended Levites expressing their Zeal to God, Religion, Church and State, by railing against the Lords anointed, the best of Kings in the World.

The Fathers do use the word so too, St. *Austin* *epist.* 48. saith, *Potestas humana saepe est divina potestati inimica*: humane power is too often, contrary to the Power of God Almighty. The holy Father was not so bad a Divine, as to think that *Potestas in abstracto*, that Government which is Gods own Ordinance can be in Opposition or Enmity with God: St. *Austin* then infallibly by the word *Potestas*, *Power*, meant him or them who are authorized with power from above.

If this doth not content our Adversaries, I would entreat them to look upon St. *Paul's* Text, and I hope they will find that St. *Paul* meant by being subject to higher powers, to be subject to him who is invested with the Power. Doth not he term them *v. 3. ἀρχόντες*, *Rulers*? Higher Powers, then, and Rulers are with saint *Paul* equivalent terms. Doth he not after call them *leitεργοί*, and *δουλοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, the Ministers immediate, and peculiar Servants of God? *v. 6.* and

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even Nero himself is Gods Minister for thy Good. Doth he not say v. 4. *That he beareth not the Sword in vain?* which is non-sense if you conceive it of higher Powers in abstracto. The like may be said of paying Tribute, &c.

God did fore-see by his eternal Omniscience how apt man was to coin Distinctions to deceive himself, and to wrong Gods Ordinance, that mercifully to us, he hath expressed in Scripture, that both Sovereignty and the person cloathed with Sovereignty, are of him, by him, and from him immediately; and this, that both the one and the other may be revered by us as sacred and inviolable. The Apostle speaketh in abstracto, *Be subject to the Higher Powers: The Powers that are, are ordained of God. He that resisteth, &c.* Again, the Spirit of God by Solomon saith, *In concreto*, with the Connnotation of the Subject, *By me Kings reign. I have said you are Gods, &c.* What shall we judge then of this new-coyned Distinction, to make a Difference betwixt the King and his Authority; betwixt his personal Will, and his Royal and Authoritative Will? to pursue his Person with a Cannon-bullet at Edge-bill, and to preserve his Authority at London, or elsewhere? These Fig-tree Leaves will not cover our Rebellion and Treason in the day of our Accounts before the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings. Remember his strait Charge, *Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophet no harm.*

CHAP. III.

The same Truth is proved by more Arguments from Holy Scripture.

THE Scripture hath not delivered any truth more purposely, more apertly, more frequently than this. The Spirit of God knew well, that if the Sacred Sovereignty of Kings be not preserved, Religion, Justice, and Peace cannot be maintained. This is the reason St. Paul gives to persuade us to pray for Kings, *That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.* It is observable, that Solomon, Prov. 8. speaketh first of the establishment of Government, before he speaks of the Works of Creation: to intimate, it is better not to be at all, than to be without Government. For the same reason God fixed Government in the Person of Adam, before Evah or any else came into the World; and how Government shall be, and we enjoy the happy fruits of it; it is not conceivable, except we preserve to the King his Sacred Sovereignty inviolably. This, I say, made God in Scripture *non obiter, raro, & accidenter*, not in a passing way, occasionally, or rarely, or accidentally, to command this Duty of Loyalty and Obedience to Kings, Sacred in their Functions, in their Persons. Almighty God hath in commanding this Duty in holy Writ, kept the same course, he kept in setting down Essentials and Fundamentals of Faith and Worship. If any be pleased to be at the pains to observe it, I doubt if they will find any thing so peremptorily and frequently commanded, and with so much reason urged. The Lord

knew how averſe corrupt man is to give to the Lords Anointed his due; without the ſpecial Grace of God, or an over-ruling ſtrong Providence People cannot be kept in Subjection. *David* magnifieth it, as one of the higheſt and moſt powerful of Gods bleſſings towards him, that he delivered him from the ſtrivings of his People: *Pſal.* 18. 43. and as ingenuouſly he acknowledgeth, that it is God alone who ſubdueth his People under him: *Pſal.* 144. 2. God accounteth Rebellion againſt them Rebellion againſt himſelf: and ordinarily in Scripture you have God and the King inſeparably joyned, and the Duties to both enjoyned, *1 Pet.* 2. 17. *Fear God, Honour the King.* *Prov.* 24. 21. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.* This is purpoſely done, not onely to intimate the greatneſs of the Sin of Diſobedience, Diſloyalty, and Rebellion, but alſo to expreſs the near Alliance Kings have with God; and the ſtrait conjunction betwixt them and God, that nothing intervenes to divide or ſever them, *which God hath put together let none put aſunder.*

We have proved that God in the Law hath reſerved to himſelf, as his own right, the Conſtitution of Kings: We have proved ſufficiently that this was not a priviledged caſe of Gods People under the Law, becauſe *Solomon* indefinitely, and conſequently univerſally averreth, That all Kings reign by God in Chriſt. Becauſe *Saint Paul* hath delivered the ſame truth, That there is no Supreme Power but from God alone, and ſo from him alone, that he admitteth no Corrivall to ſhare with him. Thus you have three Arguments for our purpoſe. We come now to the fourth:

Which

Which is this : Scripture right down teacheth us, that all Kings whatsoever have their Free-hold from Almighty God alone. Of *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt* it is said, *Exod. 9. 7. I have raised thee up. Elisha* from God designed, anointed and constituted *Hazael* King over *Syria*, *2 King. 8. 13.* Here you see that the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria* are no less of Gods making than the Kings of *Israel*. Are not *Pharaoh*, *Abimelech*, *Hiram*, *Hazael*, *Hadad*, no less honoured with the compellation of Kings, than *David*, *Saul*, or *Ezekiah*? Be they what they will, Gods creatures they are, and of his making onely.

Jer. 29. 9. God doth honour *Nebuchadnezzar*, by naming him his servant : His servant, conceive at *αὐτὸν ἐξοχλῶ*, by way of excellency : The same compellation it is, which God giveth to *David*, a King according to his own heart. *Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon, my Servant.*

If what we have said cannot suffice, let them turn over to *Isai. 45. 1, 2.* Thus saith the Lord to his Anointed, to *Cyrus*, whose right hand I have bolden, to subdue Nations before him ; and I will loose the loyns of Kings, to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut, I will go before thee, and will make the crooked places strait, I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut asunder the bars of Iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I the Lord which call thee by thy name, am the God of *Israel*. A proof able enough to stop the Devils mouth. What *Cyrus* was is well known, he hath *Josiah*'s honour, to be named well nigh an hundred years before he was born, and named by his individual Name ; he is dignified with the Royal compellation of the Lords Anointed ; his Honour,

his work, and all is from God, and that immediately. How much might be said, if we pleased to insist to prove our point? But leaving this, I come to our fifth Argument, which is,

That in the Book of God we are told, *Dominus datus est regna* : that there be no Kingdom but of his giving, no Kings but of his making, no King unking'd but by his doing. We ended our last Argument with *Cyrus*, we begun the proof of this with him too. *Esd. 1. 2.* It is recorded by the Holy Spirit, *Thus saith Cyrus of Persia, the Lord of Heaven hath given me all the Kingdomes of the Earth, and he hath charged me to build him an House at Jerusalem which is in Judah.* You read the same *2 Chron. 36. 22, 23.* I am very inclinable to believe that *Cyrus* knew this charge from the Prophecy of *Isaiah, 44. 28.* *He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem, thou shalt be built, and to the Temple, thy foundation shall be laid.* And again, *cap. 45. 13.* *I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his wayes, he shall build my City, and let go my Captives, not for price nor reward, saith the Lord of Hosts.* If this will not rectifie the perverse rebellious Tenet of Puritan and Jesuit, I despair of doing it. I know they will tell me, it is an extraordinary case; this is their ordinary poor shift, that serveth them in many cases; if they would consider it aright, they might see how careful God has been by extraordinary Works and Manifestations, and reiterated Precepts and Practices ordinary, to right their extravagant and extraordinary Tenets and Humours. If they can be satisfied, we refer them to *Dan. 2. 19, 20, 21.* And *Daniel* will teach them in the judgment of God, that to give and remove Kings and Kingdoms, is the sole and properly peculiar work of God.

When

When God had revealed to *Daniel Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, with the Interpretation of it, he thanketh God, and saith, *vers. 20. Blessed be the Name of God for ever and ever, for Wisdom and Might are his.* *vers. 21. And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth Kings, and setteth up Kings.* Again, *vers. 37.* He saith, *Thou, O King, art a King of Kings, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdom, Power, Strength and Glory.* *vers. 20. and 21.* He ascribeth the setting up and removing of Kings, no less to God, than Wisdom infinite, and Omnipotency, which are Divine Attributes incommunicable. And *vers. 37.* He vindicates this as proper and peculiar to the God of Heaven, that Earth and earthly men can have no part in it. *Daniel in whom was the spirit of the holy Gods, Daniel whom no secrets troubled, Daniel in whom was wisdom like the wisdom of Gods,* reached not this high point, to know that in the People was an *underrived Majesty* to be derived to Kings in what proportion they please, by a fiduciary trust. View the fourth Chapter of *Daniel's Prophecy*, and there you will find it in four-squared Letters; *Nebuchadnezzar* for a time is un-kinged: how, I pray you? By the *Watcher*, by the *Holy One*, one sent by him from Heaven, commanded by him to *hew down the tree, to cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, scatter his fruit,* *vers. 13. 14.* And to what purpose is this? That *Nebuchadnezzar* and all living may know, that the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men, *vers. 17.* All this is the Decree of the most High, *vers. 24.* And *Nebuchadnezzar* was driven from men, to live and eat with beasts, till he should know that the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will,

will, vers. 25. It was told to the proud King, swelling in Pride in his Palace, that *the Kingdom was departed from him, the Messenger was a Voice from Heaven,* vers. 31. After his Repentance, and acknowledging this Truth, that *Dominus dat & aufert regna*; that God giveth and taketh away Kingdoms, his Kingdom was established unto him, his Counsellors and Lords sought unto him, and excellent Majesty was added unto him. Whosoever is not over-ruled with the Spirit of Errour, and readeth and considereth these Passages aright, must confess the Truth we maintain. God open our eyes to see it, and give us hearts to believe it, that Loyalty & Royalty may have their Place and Right!

The same Truth is delivered to us again *Dan. 5.5.* A hand from Heaven, (a miracle it is to confirm this Truth) writeth upon the Plaster of the Wall, that *Belshazzar the King and his Nobles may inquire after it. That God had taken the Crown from him.* He did not acknowledge, that he did hold his Crown of the King of Heaven; to this Ingratitude, he added Sacrilege, and prophaned the Golden and Silver Vessels of the Temple. For these sins his Crown was taken from him. So horrible a Sin is Sacrilege, and in Kings especially, that it will throw them into Contempt, cast their Crowns into the dust, and bring greater Judgments in the world to come if they repent not. Nor can this Repentance be sound and saving without Restitution. Here that rule of the Holy Father holds good, *Non dimittetur peccatum ni restituatur ablatum.* Daniel reading and interpreting this miraculous Writ, recalleth to *Belshazzar's* Memory Gods dealing with his Father, v. 18. *O thou King, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy Father a Kingdom, and Majesty, and Glory, and Honour, (what more*
can

can any conceive in a King, than is here expressed?) And for the Majesty he gave him *&c.* v. 19. (mark it well, it is not said, that the People gave it) he swelled in Pride, was unkinged for a time, till he acknowledged that the most high God ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and that he appointed over it whomsoever he will. v. 21. After this *Daniel* bringeth home his Application to *Belshazzar*, prudently checking him, that he had not made right use of that befell before his Father, but had trode in the same way of Pride, and added to his Fathers Sin the prophaning of Sacred things, that for this cause he and his are extirpated Root and Branch. The writing was *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*. The Sense is, he was found Light in Gods Ballance, his Kingdom was numbred and finished, and divided or given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, Who in executing this Vengeance against an ingrate and sacrilegious King, were nothing else, but the Instruments, the Axe and Rod of God, as you may read, *Isaiab* 45. and 44. 28. and *Jer.* 51. 11. *Isaiab* 13. 17.

In the Passages adduced consider: First, who is the Author? (I mean not the Principal, for without controversie it is the holy Spirit) *Daniel* a man eminent and excellent in Court, Credit and Preferment. But this is not so considerable, consider him therefore as one of the Prophets, of most rare Endowments, for Wisdom and extraordinary Revelations. Secondly, Next reflect your Thoughts a little, how this Truth is manifested. It is from Heaven, but how I pray you? By *Dreams*; By *Voice*; by a *crying Voice*; by *Writ*; from whom? from the most high God: from the holy one: from the Watcher: from the God of Heaven: to whom? To *Nebuchadnezzar* the Emperour of the

Assy-

Assyrians, and *Babylonians*, to *Belshazzar* his Son; and all the way miraculous. The Dream is forgotten, to *Daniel* it is miraculously revealed, with no less wonder interpreted: It is written miraculously, Interpreted and read as wonderfully: and all this in the wise Dispensation of God, that Kings and all may acknowledge that Kings and Kingdoms are of God. Before this Truth be not known to Kings and all, he will reveal it extraordinarily, miraculously, by Dreams, by Voices, by Cries, by Writings from Heaven; and that all may take notice of it, the Dream is forgotten, Magicians are sought to; because they cannot find it out, Death is decreed against them, yet God will not have it to go unknown, to his Servant he reveals it, all the Empire take notice of it, all admire it. To confirm it yet more, the King must live like a Beast, till he believe, he confess, he profess this Truth; This Truth is not once spoken, but twice, it is seen, it is heard: The *Babylonians* had forgotten it; *Belshazzar* had slighted it, neglected it. When he, his Counsellors, his Lords are feasting, carousing, a finger from Heaven writes it, None can read it, *Daniel*, is sought, he reads it, interprets it, that all may take Notice of it. The Father for not acknowledging this Truth, but sacrificing to himself, of a King is made a Beast, but Repentance restores him. The Son hath harder measure, He is dethroned, rooted out for ever. And a way is made; that *Cyrus* in his succeeding to the Empire, may acknowledge that his Kingdom was of God, which he did truly, as we told before. Where can you shew any Truth of this kind, in Scripture so revealed, so manifested, by such miraculous, extraordinary, and admirable ways? I think it is hard to hit upon a parallel to it. God knew well before,

How

How apt we are to rob Kings of their due Right and Honour, nay, rather how prone, corrupt man is to intrude upon God and invade his Right.

If any will be pleased to consider seriously *Daniel's* Prophecies, What are they but Predictions that all Empires, Kingdoms, Majesty, Royalty and Sovereignty are of Gods immediate Donation? They are not disposed of by the composed Contracts of men, but by the immediate hand and work of God. All Ancients and Moderns for the most part acknowledge here in *Daniel* to be the clearest, the most distinct Prophecies, Predictions, of the four great Empires. If you will cast your Eyes upon the historical part of *Daniel's* Book there is no Truth, which is so much treated, spoken of, as this Truth, as that Kings and Kingdoms are dependent from God alone, and Independent from all others. It may be, because *Daniel* was a great Courtier, as *Joseph* was with *Pharaoh*, that he might not be judged a time-server, a temporizer, a complier to vindicate him from Court-flattery, God did so many ways, so miraculous ways demonstrate this Truth, confirm this Truth, that Sovereignty, Royal Majesty, come from Heaven, from God immediately.

What Prophet almost hath not a hint, an Expression of this? *Isay* is plentiful in this; as you may see, in *Nebuchadnezzar*, in *Cyrus* &c. and all Neighbour Princes: *Jeremy* taught it to the *Jews* to his own Disadvantage. The Prophet *Hosea*, or rather God himself by the Prophet with one Breath, in one Vessel, in few words, with a *dedi*, and an *abstuli*, hath expressed, hath confirmed this Doctrine. c. 13. 11. *I gave them a King in my Anger, and took him away in my Wrath. I gave him, I took him away; what can you require more? I pray give me Leave to observe one thing*

thing in the words, besides our main purpose for which we cited it. He saith, *dedi eis regem in ira mea*: I gave them a King in my Anger; This King in the judgment of some was *Saul*: according to the mind of others, this King was *Jeroboam*, it skilleth not whether the one or the other. Both of them were wicked. Yet it is said, *Dedi*, I gave him, and as I gave him, so *abstuli*; I took him away: None giveth but He, None can take away but He. God will admit none to do either the one or the other but himself. It is observable too, that in giving a bad King, it is only said *in ira mea*, I gave him in my Anger; but in taking away a bad King, it is said, *abstuli in furore meo*, I took him away in my wrath: what difference is betwixt *ira* and *furore*, anger and wrath, all do know. What doth this intimate to us then, but, to have a bad King is a chastisement *Irati Dei*, of an angry God, who is placable; But to have no King at all, it is a work of Vengeance, a token a prognostick of an Implacable God, at least hardly placable.

If you account *Job* for a Prophet, or *αὐτοπροφητὴς*, it skilleth not much which way you term him. He saith, *Reges collocat in solio, in perpetuum*; and again, *Baltheum regum dissolvit*: the places you have cited before. What he speaketh for Sovereignty, you shall hear, qq. 4 & 5. For *Solomon* his Suffrage you had before. What he saith of the heart of Kings, &c. Of not resisting Kings, you shall hear it in its proper place, That a King, there is no rising up against him: what in the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, he speaketh of his absolute Sovereignty, you shall find it in its proper place. E're long, you shall by Gods grace hear *David* speak for himself.

And

And because we said before, that no truth almost in Scripture is more apertly and frequently delivered, than the Sovereignty of Kings, their creation by God immediately, the Historical part is plentiful in this kind. In *Genesis*, it is promised to *Abraham*, that Kings shall come of him. There it is fixed by Prophecy in the Tribe of *Judah*, with *Judiciaria* and *Legislative potestas*, with the Scepter and Law-giver. In the Law it is fore-told, his Duty is prescribed. *Moses* dying, prayeth for one onely to rule the People after his death. In *Jehoshuah* his Book, you have as compleat as absolute a Monarch as we plead for, as by expresse Scripture, in its own place, we shall clear by Gods grace. In the Book of *Judges*, the *Sophetim*, the Judges are Monarchs, and not once, but oftener there it is told us, that all Evil was in the Land for want of a King. In the Books of *Samuel*, you have not onely the Institutions of Kings, but *Jus Regum* expressed. To name the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* is ridiculous. In the Books of *Ezra*, &c. Look upon *Cyrus*, *Darius*, &c. As for the New Testament, See how Christ taught it, practised it, and his Apostles after him: to point at this is not necessary. If our strait-laced Brethren would be pleased to cast an eye upon *Apoerypha*, I refer them to *Ecclesiasticus*, cap. 6. 1, 2, &c. Hear ye Kings, &c. Give ear, you that rule the People, and glory in the multitude of Nations, for Power is given you of the Lord, and Sovereignty from the Highest, &c. Yet fearing this Passage will not be current enough among our Sectaries, I point at two passages of *David*, till we hear him speak more fully: The one is, *Psal.* 21. 3. Thou settest a Crown of pure Gold upon his head. The other is, *Psal.* 84. 44. Thou hast made his Glory to cease, and cast his Throne down to the ground.

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I do confess ingenuously, it is a great wonder to me, how any man that readeth the Scripture attentively, doth not heartily, and without scruple acknowledge, that Kings and Sovereignty are independent from all, and onely derived from God; and that this truth is not onely verified of the Kings of the *Jews*, but all Kings whatsoever. Which truth, we are hopeful, we have confirmed clearly, yet will proceed to add more reasons, and to remove some more of their poor evasions.

CHAP. IV.

That Kings are onely dependent from God, and not from the Community, is more proved by Scripture. The poor shifts of Suarez and Bellarmine are removed, who, abusing the passage Deut. 17. would have the Constitution of the Kings of Israel to relate to the People, as its real and proper Origin and Cause; and the priviledged Case onely this, that God reserved to himself the designation of the Person of the King.

THis other shift of *Suarez* and *Bellarmino*, in the Title of the Chapter expressed, is as poor as one as the other; nor can it hold when it is examined by Scripture and Reason. Both the *Jesuits* and the *Puritans*, their Disciples, build this quirk upon the naked perverted letter of the Text, that *Deut. 17.*

4, 15. it is said of the People, that they *set the King over them*; and upon Gods part it is said, *Him shalt thou set over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose*. Ergo, say they, the Constitution is the Peoples, the Election of the Person is Gods. It is a lame Consequence; for the words *Constitues super te*, Thou shalt set over thee, are not to be understood of Constitution by collating, or transferring from them to the King, Majesty and Sovereignty: but of Constitution by way of Approbation, or of accepting of him as King, acknowledging him as a King, reverencing and obeying him as King, whom God hath both designed and constituted by himself King. In this Sense, we grant a *Constitues super te*, a setting over thee: and because this is the last act in constituting a King, that puts that *in fieri in facto esse, quasi ultima dispositio inducens formam*, as the last Disposition which induceth the form in the matter, by a synecdochical and tropical Speech it is so usually spoken. Nor is it unusual to the Spirit of God in Scripture to speak this way, for it is said, 1 Cor. 6. *The Saints judge the World*: Now it is certain, that the Judgment of the Saints is only by approving or consenting to Christs Judgment, which is his only *authoritative*, properly; and their act in that great Judgment at the last day, is only to approve or consent rather to the righteous Judgment of their Lord: yet Scripture standeth not to say, *The Saints shall judge the World*. To judge by Authority is only proper to God the Father, by the Son, to whom the Father hath given all Judgment; and this leaveth no place, no Power to the Saints to dissent. The like holdeth in the Instance proposed.

That

That this is to be conceived so (which is our sixth Argument, to confirm that Kings and their Sovereignty are immediately from God) is more than apparent, that Almighty God in Scripture vindicateth to himself all the Acts, real and imaginable, which are necessary for the making of Kings. If the *Jesuit* make much of the Letter of the Text, *Deut. 17.* where it's said, *The Lord should chuse the King, and the People set the King over them;* Let us consider how the Practice interprets the Letter of the Law, it is an infallible Maxim with Jurists, *Praxis optimus Legis interpres*, Practice is the best Commentary of Law: and it is no less a ruled case, that the first president is a ruling case to all following in that kind. Come then, take the first Instance in *Saul*, the first elected and constituted King by the Tenor of this Law. In the practice the Phrase is varied and turned over, the Election is given to the People, the Constitution to God: *1 Sam. 12. 13. Behold the King (saith Samuel) whom you have chosen and desired, and behold the Lord hath set a King over you.* This Election of the People can be no other but their Admittance or Acceptance of the King, whom God had chosen and constituted; as the words, *Whom you have desired*, imply. Scripture telleth us, that *Saul's* Election and Constitution was, *1 Sam. 9. 17.* when God said to *Samuel*, *Behold the man whom I spake to thee of, the same shall reign over my people;* and when *Samuel* took a Viol of Oyl, powred it upon his head, kissed him, and said, *Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be Captain over his Inheritance?* *1 Sam. 10. 1.* Where you have *Samuel* as Priest and Prophet anointing, doing Reverence and Obeisance to him, and ascribing to God that he did appoint him Supreme and Sovereign over his Inheritance. The same

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again is totally given to God, 1 Sam, 13. 13. *The Lord hath set a King over you.* The Expression and Phrase is the same with that you have of Christ and his Kingdom, Psal. 2. 6. *I have set my King upon my holy Hill of Sion.* I am confident none will be so sacrilegiously impudent, as to give to Church, to man or Angel, Creature or Creatures, any share in any act of constituting Christ King over his Church; and for his Church, and in order to it; over all the Kingdoms of the World.

By what is said of this first practice it is more than evident, that God in that Law of making Kings *Deut.* 17. did vindicate as proper and peculiar to himself, the Designation of the person of the King, and the investing of him in royal Power and Sovereignty. The People then were only to admit and accept of their King by God so designed and constituted, and to yield all Reverence, Obedience, and maintenance necessary. It was not arbitrary to them to admit or reject *Saul* so designed, so constituted by God himself immediately; reject him they could not. Yet God in his wise prudent Dispensation of all things, judged it expedient to complete and consummate this Work by the Acceptation, Consent, and Approbation of the people, *Ut suaviori modo*, that by the smoother way he might thus encourage *Saul* to the undergoing of this hard Charge, and make his People the more heartily, without grumbling or scruple, Reverence and obey him. As by his Providence he doth all things powerfully, so he disposeth of all *circumstances*, for the good of man in a sweet and mild way. This Admittance possibly added something to the Solemnity of *Saul's* investing, but nothing to the essential or real Constitution: as the Intimation of a Law, (which in Laws I think hath more

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Interest

Interest than this Admittance here) it hath no Influence upon a Law made by supreme Power, yet it is useful, it puts the Subjects in *mala fide*, makes them inexcusable if they contravene. Or this Admittance was and is as the Imperialists say, truly of the Popes Confirmation of the elected Emperour, good *ad pompam*, but not requisite *ad necessitatem*. Or if you will speak with the Romanists, that the confirmation is of the Pope once elected, is *ad solemnitatem*, not *ad necessitatem*, for the Solemnity, not simply necessary. Or to come more near and with more certainty and truth; it is like the Coronation of an hereditary King, which is only for Solemnity, not for Necessity: for before that Ceremony and Solemnity his Title is as good as after it; and any act of royal Power and Jurisdiction done before his Coronation is as valid as any done as after his Coronation. Or if you will, it is like the Enthronization of a Bishop, or installing of a Canon or Prebend in a Cathedral Church.

Scripture maketh this Good plentifully elsewhere; for it punctually ascribeth all *Acts, essentially constitutive of Kings*, immediately to God. In one full word, *the making of a King* is given to God, 1 Kings 3. 7. And now, O Lord my God, thou hast made thy Servant King instead of David my Father. The providing of a King is given to God, 1 Sam. 16. 1. I have provided me a King. The King in a proper and peculiar way is called Gods King, Psal. 18. 50. Great deliverance giveth he to his King. God exalteth them, Psal. 89. 19. I have exalted one chosen out of the People. Not the People, but God findeth Kings out, *ibid.* vers. 20. I have found David my Servant. Neither Priest, nor Prophet, nor People, really anoint Kings, God anointeth them, *ibid.* vers. 20. With mine holy Oyl have I anointed him. That we conceive them

Priest

not to have their Prerogative from Pope or People, Priest or Prophet, not they but God adopteth them, *ibid.* vers. 27. *I will make him my first-born; That he may cry unto him; Thou art my Father, my God, vers. 28.* To shew their nearer and straiter Alliance, they are taken in *societatem nominis, numinis, potestatis*; into a communion of his Majesty, his Name, Power, it is said, *Psal. 82. 6. I have said, ye are Gods.* To shew their Generation, their Procreation, their Derivation; there is a dice to this too, *I have said ye are all of you the Children of the most High*; not *terre filii*, *Cadmus* offspring, sprung out of the Earth.

Kings then are not made, provided, chosen, found, exalted, anointed, adopted, by Saints, by People, by Pope, by Presbytery, by any diffusive, collective, representative, virtual Body of the Community; but by and of God alone: for their Power, their Sovereignty they are *dii* ~~ETERNI~~ *Elohim*; the manner of Propagation, Derivation, Communication, is by Fikation, by Adoption, they are *fili* *Excelsi*, the Sons of the most High, and for eminency above all, they are the first born; this is the Language of *Canaan*; it is the Language of *Abdod* to say, that a King is *minor universis, singulis major*. Scripture Reason speak the contrary, *primogenitus*, the first-born is not above every Brother severally; but if there were thousands, millions, numberless numbers, he is above all in Dignity, in Precedency, in Power. It is statuted by God in the beginning of the World, that the younger Brother, and Brethren all of them, *sub te erit appetitus ejus & tu dominaberis illius*; *Unto thee, or subject unto thee, shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him. Gen. 4. 7.*

To return a little to the Practice of the Law, in constituting *David* King; you find it was not the dis-

fufive, the collective Body of *Israel*, that found *David*, chose him, exalted him, anointed him, &c. It was God alone; it was not the Elders of *Bethlehem*, his own City, neither they nor the other knew of it, *1 Sam. 16. 4.* Nor were the Saints sharers in this work with God, they knew nothing of it, *Pfal. 89. 19.* Nay, not *Samuel* the Prophet, had it been he, it had not been King *David* but King *Eliab*. It is worthy of our labour to take notice, how the anointing of Kings is wholly attributed to God in Scripture, and other Kings, besides the Kings of *Judea*, are called *The Lords Anointed*. Which is more than evident by what is before expressed: the phrase of Scripture is very emphatical; *They are anointed with his holy Oyl*: the Act is his, *He anoints*: *The holy Oyl is his*, *He anoints with his Oyl*: this Oyl is *sacred* too; it is not every Oyl, but his Oyl, and his sacred Oyl. *Sacred Oyl* it is, which how it can be so denominated, and come from the People, as its first subject and Seat, its Origine and Source, is not conceivable in Reason. *Sacred* it is in three respects. First, from a sacred Fountain, a sacred Efficient, from God himself. 2. Next, for its sacred Influence upon the Person, it makes the Person of the King Sacred. 3. For its influence upon the Charge, the Function, his Power, his Authority is Sacred too. And both the Person and the Charge are Supreme, which is most fitly resembled in the Sacramental Ceremony of Oyl, put Oyl in whatsoever Liquor you will it swimmeth above in the surface.

Now all this is so intirely and solely given to God, that neither Priest nor People, Pope nor Presbytery have any part in it, *Pfal. 89. 20.* *With mine holy Oyl have I anointed him.* God finds the Oyl and the hand

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to do it. You will say, *Samuel's* hand did it. The Principle of the Law will take away this Scruple; *Quod quis facit per alium, facit per se*: What one doth by another, he doth that by himself. *Samuel* was onely the Delegate, God was the Principal and Delegant; and in reason the Act must be referred to the Principal. The Oyl was God's too, not from the Apothecaries shop, nor the Priest's Vial, this Oyl descended from the Holy Ghost, who is no less the true Olive than Christ is the true Vine. Yet I pray you mistake it not, to account it of the holy Oyl of *Gratia gratum faciens*, Saving Grace, as some Fanaticks and Fantasticks fondly imagine: this is a sacred Oyl, to make the Person and Function Sacred, as we have said.

Our seventh Argument to prove that *Sovereignty in a King is immediately from God*, and not from the diffusive, collective, representative, or virtual Body of the Community, is that all *Royal Ensigns and Acts* of Kings are ascribed to God. If Kings were the Derivatives of the People and Community, in whom is that fabled, underived Majesty? how comes it to pass that the holy Spirit hath not in any place or syllable of Scripture intimated it? and how cometh it to pass, that in such a particular way and enumeration all are given to God? 1. *Their Crown is of God*, by putting it on their head. *Isai 62. 3. The Royal Diadem is in the hand of the Lord. Psal. 21. 3. Thou puttest a Crown of pure Gold upon his head.* Hence it was that the Emperour's Coin of old was printed with an hand coming out of Heaven, and putting it on their head. The very Heathen did term them *Deorum*, as having and holding their Crowns from God: Their Sword is God's, and he girdeth them with it. *David*

Professeth so much, *Psal.* 18. 39. *For thou hast girded me with strength* (the Sword is the Emblem of strength) *unto the Battel.* See *Judges* 7. 17. 3. *Their Scepter is the Scepter of God,* *Exod.* 4. 20. and 17. 9. The Hebrew word *Sebet* signifieth no less Scepter than Rod. It is a miraculous one too : We read onely of two miraculous Rods, *Moses's* and *Aaron's*. By *Moses's* rod what wonders were wrought in *Egypt*, and what a Miracle was it that the rod of *Aaron* budded, and none else of the twelve Tribes ? and for what purpose was it that God made both the one and the other miraculous ? Was it not to manifest to the World, that the Sovereign Power of a King, as *Moses* was King of *Jeshurun*, and high Sacred Power of the High Priest, and the Tribe of *Levi*, were not by Derivation, by Translation, by Communication from the People, but immediately, independently from God himself ? He is well nigh out of his Wits, that will make any thing miraculous the Work and Effect of the Multitude. 4. *Their judgment is the judgment of the Lord,* 2 *Chron.* 19. 6. Again, 5. *Their Throne is the Throne of God,* 1 *Chron.* 19. 21.

The ancient Fathers and Councils used the same diction ; they called 1. Their Writings, *sacri apices*, 2. Their Presence, *sacra vestigia*. 3. Their Majesty, *sacra Majestas*. 4. Their Words, their Commands, *divalis jussio*. The Law speaketh the same Language ; and whatsoever goods belonged to them, they are called *res sacre*. See *Brissonus* his *Lexicon* lib. 7. in the *Sacras*.

Being that in Holy Scripture, in reverend Antiquity, and in the Law, all their Ensigns, all their Royal Acts, their Persons, their Right, their Goods, are denominated Sacred, and given to God himself : how
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can our new Statists, against the expressions of the Holy Spirit, of the Holy Fathers, and of Jurists, honour Kings no better, but to call them Derivatives of the People? Is this to ennoble them? No truly, it disgraces Kings, it maketh them the basest Extract of the basest of Rational Creatures, the Multitude, the Community. It is certainly untrue, if it be not blasphemous against God and the King, to fix, as in its first seat and receptacle, *an underived Majesty* in the Community, where there is not one of a thousand an intelligent and knowing man. It is certainly high Treason against God and the King.

A world of Reasons to prove that Kings are independent from all, and solely dependent from God, may be brought from Scripture; but because we intend brevity, and haste to other things, we point at some few to be considered and enlarged by the judicious Reader himself.

As first, to whom can it be more proper to give the Rule over men, than to him who is the onely King truly and properly of the whole World?

2. Next, God is the immediate Author of all Rule and Power that is amongst all his Creatures above or below, why then should we seclude him from being the immediate Author of Government of Empire amongst men.

3. Thirdly, Man in the state of Innocency, in his first Creation received Dominion and Empire over all the Creatures below, *Gen. 1. 28. Replenish the Earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth.* Again, after the Fall, *Gen. 9. 2. The fear of you, and the dread of you shall be upon every Beast of the Earth, and upon every Fowl of the*
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Air, upon all that moveth upon the Earth, and upon all the Fishes of the Sea, into your hand are they delivered. Can we be so stupid, as to acknowledge the dominion over all the Creatures below, is given to man immediately from God, and to deny that the most noble and excellent Government, by which man hath Power and Empire over men is not from God; by his Institution and Constitution, but by the Compact and Contract, the Composition and Constitution of men?

4. Fourthly, To demonstrate their immediate derivation from God: that their Power is immediately from him, is more than apparent by this reason. They who exercise the Judgment of God, must needs have their Power to judge from God: But so it is that Kings by themselves and their Deputies exercise the Judgments of God. The Proposition is sure, and is both confirmed and illustrated by considering how that Church-men are rightly said to have received their Ministerial Power from God and Christ, because God by them reconciles the World to himself, and saves mankind, *2 Cor. 5. 17, 18, 19, 20. 1 Tim. 4. 16.* How is it imaginable that they can be said to judge in God's place, and not receive the Power from God? The assumption is as evident by express words of Scripture; see *Deut. 1. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 6.* Let no man stumble at this, that *Moses* in the one place, and *Josaphat* in the other, speak to subordinate Judges under them; this weakeneth no wayes our Argument, for it is a ruled Case in Law, *Quod quis facit per alium, facit per se*; all Judgments of inferiour Judges are in the Name, Authority, and by the Power of the Supreme; and are but communicatively and derivatively from the Sovereign Power.

5. Fifthly,

5. Fifthly, Not onely their Power is of God, their *Judiciaria potestas*, but the very Execution of it. They are the Ministers of God in the execution of their Charge and Power; ergo, their Charge and Power is immediately from God. All the testimonies of Scripture wherein they are called Gods confirm the Antecedent, and especially those where the Supreme Governour is called, the Servant, the Minister, the Angel, the Publick Servant of God: Doth not this Argument hold in the Ministry? Doctors and Preachers of the Church discharging their Charge are called the Ambassadors, the Legates, the Ministers of God; and from hence we conclude necessarily, that the Ministry is from God and Christ. The Apostle Saint Paul, Rom. 13. 4, 5, 6, calleth the Supreme Magistrate thrice, *διάκονος*, and *λεωτοργός τῷ θεῷ*, and pregnantly expresseth, that the King in the execution of his Charge is doing Service to God, *vers. 4. He is the Minister of God to thee for good.* But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in vain. Again, *He is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.* Again, *vers. 6. For they are Gods Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.* The Greek *προσκαρτεροῦσιν*, is well rendered *attending continually*, and is in its nature Active, and so looketh to the execution of his Charge properly. In the Book of *Wisd. cap. 6. 5.* The Author attributeth to God *βασιλείαν*, to Kings and Rulers, the Ministry onely; *ὡς καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ βασιλείαν*. There can be no Argument better to prove, that both their Sovereign Power and execution of it is from God, than that properly and primarily God Almighty is King, and all Kings related to him are onely equivocally so; for he is *Rex regum, & Dominus domi-*
nantium

nantium, 1 Tim. 6. 15. Revel. 1. 5. & 21. 27. & 19. 20. & 17. 14. He is King of Kings, and Lords of Lords, ὅτις κατ' ἀλήθειαν, truly so; Kings upon Earth, are only such, κατὰ δοξάν, more in Resemblance than Reality, and betwixt the one and the other, the Kings of Heaven, and Kings on Earth, no more proportion than is betwixt Heaven and Earth, a thing finite and infinite: For this cause Scripture, Mark 10. 41. speaketh no better of Kings and Princes on Earth, than that they are οἱ δοκῦντες ἀρχεῖν, not so much truly men that have Empire and Rule, as such that appear to be so; from whence then shall we derive Sovereignty and Royalty but from that true Royalty and Sovereignty in God alone.

6. Sixthly, the Power and Grace by which they are enabled for so high a Charge and Employment is only from Almighty God, then by necessary Consequence, the Charge must be solely and only from him. The Connexion is natural, for in right Reason, to whom can it be due to give a Charge of this Concernment properly, but only to him who is able to give the Endowments, and *hability* for that Charge? Now that the Endowment is from God immediately, the sacramental Ceremony of anointing sheweth it, and that exactly they are called the *Lords Anointed*. We need not use symbolical Arguments, seeing the Schools allow them no convincing force, the Holy Spirit hath given it to us in plain and natural Terms right down. Of *Orbniel* the first Judge after *Joshua*, it is said, *Judges* 3. 10. *And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he judged Israel*. The like you have spoken of *Saul*, after that he was anointed and appointed King of *Israel*, 1 Sam. 10. & 11. and elsewhere. The same is said of *David*, 1 Sam. 17. Very know-

knowing men in Divinity interpret the Passage *Prou.* 20. 12. *The hearing Ear, and the seeing Eye, the Lord hath made even both of them:* that the Faculty to rule well, and the Grace to obey Rulers, both of them are of God immediately: by the hearing Ear understanding the actual Obedience of the Subject; and by the seeing eye, the actual Government and Empire of the Sovereign: the interpretation is according to the analogy of sacred and divine Truth. If any be contentious to hold it is not the native Sense of the Text, we will not contest or contend unnecessarily, seeing we have plain places to the same Purpose. *David* professeth and acknowledgeth, that the Subjection of his People to him, was the immediate Work of God, *Psal.* 144. 2. The like see *1 Sam.* 10. 26. when *Saul* was constituted King, some despised him, but those whose hearts God had touched, followed and revered him.

7. Seventhly, where Sovereign power is, as in Kings, there is *Authority* and *Majesty*, a ray of divine Glory. But this cannot be found in people, they cannot be the subject of it, whether you consider them *joynly* or *singly*. If you consider them *singly*, it cannot be, for this is not to be found in every individual; and according to our Antimonarchical Sectaries, all by native Right are equally equal born with a like Freedom. If it be not in the People considered *singly*, it cannot be derived from them, being considered *joynly*, for all the Contribution in this compact and Contract which they fancie to be humane Composition, and voluntary Constitution, is only by a Surrender of the native Right, every individual hath in himself, from whence then can this Majesty and Authority be derived? Again, where the Obligation is amongst

amongst equals by Compact and Contract, Violation of the Faith plighted in the Contract cannot in proper Terms be called Disobedience or Contempt of Authority: it is no more but a receding from, and Violation of that which was promised, as it may be in States or Cantons confederate. Nature, Reason, Conscience, Scripture teach, that Disobedience to sovereign Power is not only Violation of Truth, Breach of Covenant, but also high Disobedience and Contempt. That this Authority is in Princes, it is evident by sense, by Experience, by Scripture, by the Confession of the Heathen. The passage we did alledge before proveth this, *1 Sam. 10. 26.* To that Passage, add that *cap. 11.* that when *Saul* hewed a Yoke of Oxen in pieces, and intimated, that whosoever came not forth after him, so it should be done as to his Oxen: such was the Authority, that the Text saith, *The Fear of the Lord fell on the People, and they came out with one Consent, 1 Sam. 11. 7.* This is well expressed by *Job, cap. 12. vers. 18.* *He looseth the Bond of Kings, and girdeth their Loins with a Girdle.* By the first Expression, *He looseth the Bond of Kings*, *Job* meaneth, that when God is to cast off Kings, and to throw their Honour in the dust, He looseth their Authority, and bringeth them and it in Contempt. By the other Phrase, *and girdeth their Loins with a Girdle*, *Job* intimateth, that when he is to preserve Kings and their Rights, that he strengtheneth them with Authority, and maketh people reverence them. That this is the meaning, you may conceive it by what he saith, *v. 21.* *He poureth Contempt upon Princes, and weakeneth the Strength of the Mighty.* By this Authority and Majesty *Solomon* invested in Royalty, dissipated *Adonijah* and all his treacherous Complices.

The Heathen have observed, that in Princes there is something divine, above the reach of man, which cannot be derived from them. If we may believe prophane Story, this Majesty was so eminent in Alexander the Great, that it was a Terrour to his Enemies, a Power strong enough to compole seditious Counsels and Attempts, a powerful Load-stone to draw the Counsels of his most experienced Commanders to imbrace and obey his Counsels, his Commands. Some Stories write, that this Majesty was resplendent upon great Exigents in the Eyes of Scipio. What was that which kept Pharaoh from lifting up his hand against Moses, who charged him so boldly with his Sins, denounced and brought so terrible, so great Plagues upon him? What was it I pray you, but this Authority and Majesty resplendent in him, which was a curb to the Tyranny of his Malice and Power? When Moses did speak face to face with God in the Mount, and when he came down that his Face shined, so that the People could not behold it till it was covered with a Veil, what else was it but this resplendent Glory of Majesty? Exod. 34. What else was it that repressed the Fury of the People enraged against Gideon for destroying their Idols, but this Majesty? Judg. 6. And as by Gods Ordinance we see that the Fear and Terrour of man is upon all the Creatures living below, Gen. 9. So what else can this Fear and Reverence which is innate in the Hearts of all Subjects towards their Sovereigns be, but the Ordinance unrepeatable of God, and the natural Effect of that Majesty in Princes, with which they are endowed from above.

8. Eighthly, this seemeth or rather is an Argument unanswerable to prove sovereign Power to be independent.

dependently and immediately from above; That Sovereign Power is armed with *Potestas vite & necis*, Power of Life and Death, which cannot flow or issue from man, for no man hath it; None can lay claim to it, but the *living God*, the Author of Life, who killeth and giveth Life again. That Sovereign Power hath this power is so certain as it cannot be denied: *Gen. 9.* in the restoring of the World after the Flood, 1. First, God reiterates the Blessing of increasing and multiplying, *v. 1.* The same which in his Bounty he bestowed on *Adam* and *Eva*, *Gen. 1. 28.* 2. Next he establisheth mans Sovereignty over the Creatures here beneath, *v. 2, 3.* 3. Thirdly, he establisheth the civil Government, *v. 5, 6.* where first he challengeth the Power to himself in one main thing explicitly, in the punishing or shedding of mans Blood to Death, but implicitly in all Government; for the parts of Government being all *homogeneous* of one kind, we must refer all to one Origine, which is God. The words are, *v. 5. Surely the Blood of your Lives will I require: at the hand of every Beast will I require it; and at the hand of man, and at the hand of every mans Brother will I require the Life of man.* In which words clearly it is told, the Right is Gods primarily properly, thence in the words God vindicates it, *I will require it, I will require it, I will require it.* Lest any should think that God is to do it immediately by his own hand, and not otherwise, *v. 6.* it is added, *Who so sheddeth mans Blood, by man shall his Blood be shed again: for in the Image of God made he man.* Here is the Institution of Sovereignty; and here the Sovereign is invested as Gods Deputy, to punish the Slayer of man by Death. I hope none will conceive it so, that any man whatsoever may do this, and is invested with this Power. This were a mighty disorder

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Order and Confusion. Nothing can be more pernicious to mankind, and opposite to God and his Ordinance, who is the God of Order and not of Confusion. The words in the original are יָשָׁכְבֶּכֶת דָּם בָּאָדָם, *baadam dam yischabek*. It is well rendered in our English Bibles, *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his Blood be shed.* The old Translation is imperfect, *Quicumque effuderit hominum sanguinem, fundetur sanguis illius.* We will grant to Bellarmine, that the Sense is not corrupted in this Translation, but will never yield that it is not imperfect, for the main and cardinal word, *Baadam*, per hominem, by the Cardinal's Leave, is omitted: Let the Cardinal say what he will, whom you may look upon L. 2. *de verb. Dei*, cap. 12. Nor do we think that the Interpretation we have from the *Septuagint* is full enough, which is, ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκτείνων τὸν ἀνθρώπον, *τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ὃς ἀποκτείνων*; *Qui effuderit sanguinem hominis, pro sanguine hominis ejus effundetur.* Psal. 2. And with Reverence we dissent too from Arias Montanus, and Pagnin's Translations, *Effundens sanguinem hominis, in homine sanguis ejus effundetur*: my Reasons, with humble Submission to better Judgment, and Reverence to so great men, are 1, First, *Baadam* in homine, or *per hominem*, cannot in Grammar be added to the Subject or Antecedent, *Effundens sanguinem*, but must belong to the predicate or consequent, *sanguis ejus effundetur*; and so the complet and perfect Sense is, *Effundens sanguinem hominis, per hominem sanguis ejus effundetur*: just as our Bibles english it, *Who so sheddeth mans Blood, by man shall his Blood be shed.* The Reason of this, because in the original the accent *Zakephaton*, which maketh, as the Grammarians say, *infirma majus*, a Distinction is put above the word *Baadam*

dam, so that Baadam is to be joyned to the next: the like reading you may find in the very verse immediately preceding. Next, this **I** both in Baadam signifieth no less *per* than *in*, by than *in*; and *by* is the Preposition which expresseth the instrumental Cause; and consequently it importeth one Gods Instrument, who is authorized from him. 3. Thirdly, the *Jews* in their *Targum*, their *Chaldee* Paraphrase or Translation turn the words so; that they understand this Baadam, by man, of the Judge, who from God is authorized with Power. *Unkelos* turneth it thus; *Qui effuderit sanguinem hominis, cum testibus, sive per testes, juxta sententiam judicium, sanguis ejus effundetur.* *Jonathan* giveth the Sense thus; *Qui effuderit sanguinem hominis per testes, condemnabunt eum Judices ad necem; & qui effuderit absque testibus, Dominus mundi olim vindictam ab eo sumet in die Judicii.* Both of them agree in this, that the reading is thus, *Who so sheddeth the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed*; and both of them conceive it so, that this Baadam, this *Per hominem*, this *by man*, is not every man, but the Judge authorized from God; or both from God and his Sovereign. 4. Fourthly, to say, *Qui effuderit sanguinem hominis in homine, sanguis ejus effundetur*, He that sheddeth the blood of man in man, his blood shall be shed, is neither so good, nor so perfect and full a sense, as *Quicumque effuderit sanguinem hominis, per hominem sanguis ejus effundetur*, Who so sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. 5. Fifthly and lastly, if you value not the Testimony or Paraphrase of *Unkelos* and *Jonathan*, (although *Franciscus Xymenius* and other Learned men, judge the Paraphrase of the *Targum* upon the Law true and faithful) take an Argument for it uncontrollable, that is our Saviour's, *Math. 23.*

v. 52. *All they that take the Sword shall perish with the Sword.* Saint *Austin* telleth us, that the New Testament is veiled in the Old, and *Vetus Testamentum revelatur in Novo*, and the Old Testament is revealed in the New. A better Commentary of God's Speeches and Words we cannot have, than *λόγος τῆς Θεῆς*, and *λόγος Θεός*, than the Son, the Word of God, and that Word which is God. In Christ's Speech, *shall perish by the Sword*, in the Phrase and Dialect of Scripture we can understand nothing else but the Sovereign Power that beareth the Sword. Let the Apostle interpret the Master: Saint *Paul*, Rom. 13. 1. He commandeth Subjection and Obedience to Superior Powers, *ὁποῦς χάρις ἐξουίας*: and v. 6. He telleth you, *He beareth not the Sword in vain.*

The words thus cleared, we sum up our Argument thus. God onely hath the Power of man's Life. No man hath Power over his own Life. Whoso taketh away the Life of man, in God's Justice and Ordinance his Life is to be taken away again. This principally and properly belongeth to God, v. 5. *I will require, &c.* but God hath given this to some Deputies: This Power is not given to every one, as the terrour of an ill Conscience made *Cain* say, *Whosoever findeth me shall kill me.* This were to destroy mankind, and make God the God of Disorder and Confusion. Some man it is then by Distinction and Excellency who is God's Deputy, and then this can be none else but he in whom is Sovereign Power, and this Power is from none else but from God Almighty: And if this power over Life be from God, why not all Sovereign Power? seeing it is *homogeneous*, and as *Jurists* say, *in indivisibili posita*, a thing indivisible in its nature, that cannot be distracted, put away, nor impaired: as a

Crown, take any part from it, is no more a Crown. When God gave this Order, the World knew well enough what this *Badam*, by *man* was; neither before this time, nor at this time, knew the World any kind of Government but Monarchical: And this Monarch was *Noah*.

9. Ninthly, As their Judiciary and Sovereign Power in *actu signato*, the Execution and Exercise of Royal Power in *actu exercito*, is given to God Almighty, as to its first and proper Origine and Source; so all the Acts done by Kings are ascribed to God, and we find them the immediate Instruments by whom God worketh here the greatest works of Justice, when he is to punish men, and the greatest works of Mercy when he is to bless them. That both for the one and the other, they are called his Servants; His axe, his rod; and the works they do, to be such as he hath prepared of old. In the work of Justice, punishing his People, look upon *Nebuchadnezzar*. See what God fore-telleth by *Isaiah*, by *Jeremy*: In the works of Mercy extraordinary, look upon *Cyrus*: and for the Actions both of the one and the other, consider Scripture, and consider if they be not particularly and immediately given to God in all their parts, their acts as if they were nothing but dead and lifeless Instruments. See the places above-cited, which before we have named, and for brevities sake we now omit. To this Argument may be added the immediate working God hath upon their Hearts, their Counsels; that their heart is in the hand of the Lord, as a Boat in the Rivers of Waters; how God sendeth them in their Expeditions, their Wars; maketh them in his day, his appointed day, to set their face against *Jerusalem* or otherwise; casteth his hook in their nostrils to bring

bring them back with shame. To this Argument may be referred, that when God is to bless a People, he sendeth them good Kings; the Sons of Nobles; when he is to scourge them, naughty Kings, weak children, &c. The Testimonies of Scripture for all these are infinite, many, and obvious, which we refer to the Reader's memory, or diligent search.

10. Tenthly, Nor is to be passed by, that the Sovereign immense Majesty of God is expressed by sitting and denominating him King; and his Supreme glory is represented by sitting on a glorious Throne. See *Isaiah*, see *Daniel*, and the Prophets. Let us beware then that we make not God a Derivative too of the People, and a Creature of mens making.

11. Eleventhly, In the Scripture we read that onely three kinds of men were anointed, Kings, Priests, Prophets: Let any give an instance of a fourth besides those three. It is granted of all, that Priests and Prophets have Sacred Charges, and are Sacred Persons of God's immediate making and Constitution; why then shall not Kings have the same Prerogative, to be immediately from God, Sacred in themselves, Sacred in their Charge, by Divine Ordinance and Appointment?

12. Lastly, To close up this first part of our Proof from Scripture, it is a strong Reason to perswade Sovereignty, Authority, and Majesty to be from God immediately, and independently from any others, in what consideration soever, that the irreverence, disobedience, contempt, rebellion, or any wrong whatsoever offered to their Persons, to their Authority, is wrong and contempt offered to God himself. See *1 Sam. 8*. This made *David* say, *Who can touch the Lords Anointed and be innocent?* This made the Apo-

file say, *Rom. 13. 2. Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist receive to themselves damnation.* The like Phrase to the first you have of the Sacred Ministry in the Apostles, *1 Thess. 4. 8. He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man but God.* When the People murmured against *Moses and Aaron*, in the Law you have, *They murmur not against you but me.* The like you have in *Samuel.* The result of all is, That as the Sacred Ministry is by Collation immediately or independently from God, although the designation of the Person may be by men and the Church; so Kings may be personally designed and deputed to Royalty and Sovereignty, by *Election, Succession, Conquest*, or any other lawful possible way; but their Sovereignty and Power is by Donation and Collation immediately and solely from God, and refers to him as the only Donor and Author. Again, as the Person and Function of such as are lawfully invested with Sacred Power, and in Sacred Orders, is Inviolable and Sacred, so are the Persons and Sovereignty of Kings.

Our order proposed in the beginning of this Treatise, chargeth us now to produce our Proofs from Reverend Antiquity. But I must beg leave of the Christian Reader, to discover the weakness and wickedness of a new-devised trick of our Sectaries, That the *King is God's*, but not *Christ's Vicegerent.*

C H A P. V.

All Christian Kings are dependent from Christ, and may be called his Vice-gerents.

WHEREAS hitherto by exprefs Scripture, and by Arguments from thence by neceffary confequence deduced, we have proved, That Kings and their Sovereignty are immediately dependent from God, and dependent from no other : Conceive it not fo, that hereby we feclude Chrift, and him confidered, not onely *καὶ ὑπὸς αὐτοῦ* personally, as the Second Person in the Trinity, but alfo *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, in his Capacity, as God-man, the Saviour and Redeemer of the World.

Our Sectaries have found out a quirk, or trick rather, of late, to hold and argue, That *Kings are Gods, not Chrift's Lieutenants upon Earth*. Their purpose is the ſame in ſubſtance with the *Romaniſts*, although they differ in ſomething ; for the *Romaniſts* and *Puritans* both of them erect in every Kingdom another Sovereign, not onely beſides the true Sovereign, but alſo above. In this they agree, and are like *Sampſon's* Foxes, who have their Tails knit together, and do carry this Fire-brand to conſume Church and State. In one other they differ extremely, for the *Romaniſt* and *Jefuit* will have it to be the *Pope*, the *Puritan* and *Sectaries* fix this Sovereignty in the *Presbytery*.

We believe, with warrant of Scripture and ſound Antiquity, that all Crowns and Scepters, Kings and States, are dependent from Chrift the Son of God,

as he is *θεοῦ υἱός*, God and man, the Saviour of the World, and Head of the Church.

We intend not at this time to discuss that curious Question, *Whether or not by Hereditary Right Christ was born King of the Jews*: We are speaking at this time of Christs Kingdom, as the Head of the Church, in order to all the Kingdoms of the World. The Kingdom we speak of is not what was due to him, as *The Son of David*, but as he was the *Saviour and Redeemer of David and all the World*. The right to which he had by *Hypostatical Union*, and his perfect Merit und plenteous Redemption. Some very Learned men do hold, that Christ was not entitled to this Kingdom till his Resurrection, and that then he had *Jus quassitum*, as the Jurists speak. There is not much danger to hold this or deny it, but with reverence to their great Parts, and humble submission to better Reasons, I dissent from them, and do think, however it may be granted, that then he came to exercise it fully and perfectly; or if you will, that a new Title and Right did accrue to him, that what he had before by *Hypostatical Union* only, now he had it by another supervenient *Right of Merit*, and so had it *duplici Titulo*, as Saint Bernard saith of him in another case; yet for any thing I could yet see, I am of the mind from the first instant and moment of his Incarnation, as God-man, the Head of his Church, *By the grace of Hypostatical Union* he was *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. It cannot be denied, that while he was in the form and state of a Servant, in *statu servitutis*, in the state of Humiliation, as by the no less mysterious than admirable and wise Oeconomy of God, the Glory of his Deity did not conspicuously and ordinarily shine thorow the veil of his Flesh, no more did this Majesty and Glory
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of his Sovereignty and Kingdom shine forth to the Eyes of men. God in his unsearchable Wisdom having appointed, that *the Kingdom of God should not come with observation*, and that the *Jews* might be reified in their judgment, who did not expect a spiritual King and Deliverer, but a *Messiah*, to reign temporally over them, and by him to enjoy all external Plenty, Peace and Happiness. Nevertheless, such was the merciful and bountiful dispensation of God in this cloudy and dark Oeconomy, that sometimes thorow the thick and dark cloud of his Flesh and Infirmary, some little rayes of his immense Majesty did appear, as in his miraculous Operations; even so in the same manner, at many times, and by many acts, his Sovereignty was manifested; and that he was truly King, it was evidenced. *At his Birth*, The Wise men who came from the East worshipped him in his Swaddling-cloths: They are in Scripture, and by the constant not interrupted course of the Church to this day commended for it. *In his Ministry*, he entred *Jerusalem* in Royal Pomp: His Disciples and a great multitude did him obeysance; gave him Royal Honour: and when the *Jews* grumbled at it, he told them that it was not onely just but necessary; That if they and the People did hold their Peace, the Stones would proclaim him King, and do him Royal Homage. *In his Arraignment*, when he is to lay down his Soul for his Sheep, he avouched himself, before *Pilate*, a King. *Pilate* demands the Question, *Art thou a King?* *Pilate* understood not any Kingdom in his Question but a temporal one; a Spiritual Kingdom in his conception was a meer Notion, Fancy, Chimæra: Christ without dissimulation, equivocation, or mental reservation, *ad mentem interrogantis* answereth, he was a King. *Matth.*

27. 11. Mark. 15. 2. He had it written upon his Cross Buried, He had his Grave sealed as a King.

These things thus premised, we come to prove that Kings are Christs Vicegerents and Lieutenants upon the face of the Earth, 1. Our first proof is, the place we insisted much in before, *Prov. 8. 15.* by what is said, it is more than apparent, that *By me Kings reign*, hath this Sense, By me Wisdom, the Son of God, the Word that was made Flesh, Kings reign: you may find many Reasons by reviewing the most learned and most pious Bishops Sermons, *Dr. Andrews*, whose Memory shall ever be in everlasting Benediction.

1. First *Prov. 30. 4.* This Wisdom is called the Son of God. 2. Next this preposition *Per*, By, it is the proper and peculiar preposition of Christ. 3. Thirdly, it is not very congruous that as by Christ we have all Blessings spiritual in heavenly things, so by him we have Kings his Derivatives constituted, the best and most eminent of temporal Blessings. 4. Fourthly, Christ he is Wisdom, and by him all Blessings issuing from Mercy; Kingdoms subsist more by Wisdom than by Power; why shall we not then from this Wisdom establish Kings and their Sovereignty? The proper Work of Wisdom is *ordinaire*, to order, and to establish Order; Why then shall not all Monarchy refer its Origine to this Wisdom? 5. Lastly, the original word, *י בי*, is both *in me*, & *per me*, *in me and by me*, to intimate, as we said before, that Kings are first in him, and so come forth from him; and yet come so forth from him, that they are in him; Christ in them as his *Deputies*; They in him as their *Author* and *Authoriser*; He by their *Persons*; They by his *Power*.

2. Our second Proof we bring from that Scripture averreth that Christ is not only King of his Church, but in Order to his Church, King over all the Kings and Kingdoms of the Earth. Christs Kingdom over his Church. *Psal. 11. 6. 15.* in these words expressed: *I have set my King upon my holy Hill Sion. Over the whole World, in these Words, v. 8. I shall give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth for thy Possession:* which is not to be scantled by conceiving it only of the calling of the Gentiles to the Communion of his Church, but also of his Sovereignty over all the Earth and Kings of the Earth. This Ordinance is by Appointment, and a decree irrepealable. *v. 7. I will declare the Decree.* The words, *I shall give thee*, demonstrate that this *potestas* is not *eterna & interna*, that eternal Power which is inseparable from him as God, but *data & externa*, a given and bestowed Power, which is not conceivable in Christ, but *ναρ' ανθρωπου*, as man, or God-man, our Saviour and Redeemer.

3. A third Proof may be this, that as this was foretold by Prophecy, so in the Fullness of time it was really effected and accomplished. *Matth. 28. 18.* Our Saviour saith; *All Power is given to me in Heaven and in Earth.* The word *Given*, sheweth this Power is fixed in that Capacity by which he is our Saviour, *all Power in Heaven and Earth*, universally is expressed, *all Power*, and by Distribution exegetically amplified, *all Power in Heaven and Earth*, which will not admit nor permit, that we exclude Sovereignty in Kings. *Ubi Lex non distinguit, nemo distinguere debet.* Let our Adversaries shew where Kings and their Crowns are exempted or excepted from this, *all Power in Earth.*

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4. Fourthly the Apostle St. Paul, *Heb. 1. 2.* telleth us that God hath appointed the Son, by whom he hath spoken to us in the last days, *Heir of all things.* If this Inheritance be not over Kings, we are infinitely mistaken; and if Kings refer not their Right to him as Donor, they have no just Title.

5. Fifthly, The Scripture to take away all Cavils, hath given us this Truth in *terminis terminantibus*, in plain and expresse Terms, *Revel. 1. 5.* Jesus Christ the faithful Witness, the first begotten of the dead is, *The Prince of the Kings of the Earth.* that again, *cap. 11. 27.* *He ruleth them with a Rod of Iron.* That this is meant applicable at least to Kings, see and read it. *Psal. 11. 9.* *Revel. 19. 12.* On his head you have many Crowns, an Embleme of his Sovereignty over all Kings, and that all are his Deputies, his Substitutes. To what is said, add that of St. Paul. *1 Tim. 6. 15.* *He is the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.* That *The* is *ὁ* *Χρῖς* a note of Excellency. *Revel. 17. 14.* *The Lamb* he is Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, *Revel. 19. 16.* *And he hath on his vesture and on his Thigh a name written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.* Observe the words attentively, How characteristically this Power is given to the Lamb, to Jesus, to the faithful Witness; That it is written on his Thigh on his Vesture; which qualifie this Power as his Due, as he is the Head and Saviour of his Church. It is worth your notice taking, that *this name* is written upon his Thigh, that we may learn two things; the one is, That this Power is fixed in *Christ-man*; The other is, That all Kings are *De femore Christi*, from him by Generation.

Reason pleadeth for this Truth; 1. First, what is more suitable and convenient, than that all Kings of all

all Ages, should issue from him, who is *Rex seculorum*, A King whose Kingdom endureth throughout all Ages? It is the highest Dignity of Crowns to hold of this Crown.

2. Next, is it not prophesied by *Isaiab*, that Kings shall be the Nurse-fathers of his Church, *Reges erunt nutritii tui*? Is it not fit then that they hold their Crowns of Christ? Is it not fit, that Kings be taught so much, that with the more Alacrity and Zeal, they may advance the good of Christs Kingdom?

3. Thirdly, our Divines do acknowledge, that by men in sacred Orders Christ doth rule his Church mediately, in those things which primely concern Salvation: And that by Kings, their Scepter and Power, he doth protect and preserve his Church, and what concerns the external Government in Order and Decency. How then can it be denied, that Kings in this latter Sense, are no less the immediate Vicegerents of Christ, than Bishops Priests, and Deacons, in the former? Look upon the Interpretations are given by the best and most able of our Divines upon *1 Cor. 15. 28.*

4. Fourthly, what is the reason that all Christian Emperours and Kings glory in the Sign of the Cross, and place it upon the Top of their Sacred Crowns? It is not only by this *Symbolum Christianismi* this ancient badge of Christianity, to witness that they are Christians, and not ashamed of the Cross of Christ, but also to acknowledge, that they have received and hold their Crowns of him. Much more might be said to this purpose, but for brevities sake, and judging what is said to be sufficient to prove all Kings to be Christs Vicegerents, we spare with more Reasons to transgress upon the Patience of the understanding Reader.

Some

Some have shunned to speak thus, that *Kings are Christ's Vicegerents upon Earth*, fearing that because of the Popes unjust Challenge to be *Christ's universal Vicar upon Earth*, it should usher in a Subordination of the Crown to the Mitre. They scruple without just cause. What need we to be afraid to speak with Scripture? It is high Presumption in the Pope to challenge to himself the Title or Right of *Christ's universal vicar upon Earth, by divine Right*. There is no colour almost or shew of Reason for it either in Scripture, or reverend Antiquity. The Pope, the Bishop of Rome, hath no more by *Divine Right* (what he may have by positive Ecclesiastical Right, it is not pertinent for us now to examine and discuss) no higher Privilege (except it be in extent) than the meanest Bishop in the World in his Diocese. Doth not St. Hierom say, *Omnia Episcopus sive Romæ fuerit, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandria, sive Tanis, ejusdem est meriti, ejusdem Sacerdotii*. The learned and holy Father compareth, with the three great Patriarchs (priviledged at that time by Ecclesiastical Canons above all others, with the Patriarchs of *Antioch*, and the Honorary Patriarch of *Jerusalem*); three of the meanest Bishops next adjacent to them, the Bishops of *Eugubium*, *Rhegium*, and *Tanais*, and averreth that by divine Right they had *æque potentia* equal Right, equal Power. Nor doth that hold better, that the Pope would make his transcendent and extravagant Jurisdiction over all, to be grounded upon a fancied Eminency in St. Peter, above his fellow Apostles, *ordinarie* in him, *extraordinarie* in them, *personal* and *temporarie* in them; but so fixed in Peter's Person that it is transmissible to his Successor, and he forsooth, whether God will or not, must be the Pope of Rome. This Paradox is against

against Scripture, sacred Antiquity, and sound Reason. It is not fit now to prove it, only to satisfy the judicious Reader, I content my self with the Suffrage of that Holy Father and Martyr S. Cyprian, who *de unit. Eccles.* or singular, Prelator saith; *Hoc utique erant ceteri Apostoli, quod erat Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis.* He knew not these Differences these Novators have coyned and forged upon the Anvil of their own Hearts: His Judgment was, all the Apostles no less than Peter, were endow'd in Order to their Apostolical Charge, with the same Endowment of Power, and Priviledges of Honour. Would God, both sides in this and other Controversies, would submit to the Judgment and Determination of the holy Fathers!

I wave the accurate discussing of these points, they require more time, and a more fit place. To what is said I add, that although we would give to the Pope of Rome, to be Christ's immediate universal Vicar *in spiritualibus*, in spiritual things, there is no Danger, and so to shun this Inconvenience, we need not be so shie, as to forbear to call Kings *Christs Vicegerents, Christs Lieutenants.* For if we should grant the Antecedent, the Pope is Christs universal Vicar upon Earth (which is certainly as false as Falshood it self) it is an *αναλόγου* a lame Consequence, to make this inference, *Ergo* all Kings Crowns are subordinated and subjected to the Pope and his Mitre. Their own Authors, who advance his Power as high as *Lucifer*, do acknowledge that all power that was in Christ, *Secundum quod homo*, as he was man, was not collated upon St. Peter. They confess moreover, that all the Power that was in St. Peter, was not by him transmitted to his spurious and usurping Successor. They all with one Mouth
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profess, that *potestas Excellentie que in solo homine Christo fuit*, that Power of Excellency, which is solely peculiar to, and personal in Christ, was not communicated to St. Peter. They clear and prove it by specification of instances: Saint Peter, say they, could not confer the Effect and Efficacy of the Sacrament without the Sacrament it self; nor could he institute Sacraments of himself, or in his own name, or others than Christ himself did institute. Do they not all of them give and grant that Saint Peter did not transmit the Power of doing Miracles to all his Successors? So then, although it were granted that the Pope were Christ's Vicar universal, it will not necessarily follow, that in this, that Christ is King of Kings, the Pope is his first immediate and universal Vicegerent.

I with the Pope, who claimeth so near alliance and contingency to Christ, would learn of Christ to be *meek and humble in heart*, and so not onely should he find rest to his own Soul, but a great deal of more rest and quiet should be both in Church and State. It is very considerable, that in Scripture it is recorded, that whilst our Saviour was *Minister Circumcisionis*, the Minister of Circumcision, he both practised and taught that it was God's Ordinance, that the Mitre submit to the Crown, and the Shepherd's Crook to the Scepter: *Scarce well come into the World*, when he taught this by his Practice, flying from Herod's Persecution to Egypt, who might have commanded Legions of Angels against him to destroy him (if it had not been that it was fitter he should teach us true Obedience) as at his Word, they published his Birth to Shepherds, and sung that glorious Anthem, *Gloria in Excelsis*. Some, it is probable, may judge this to be the Act and Fact rather of Joseph and Mary than of Christ, and that

that they out of their Fear and Weakness not able to do better, did flee *Herod* and his malicious intent. If any think so, let him consider, that he hath not learned as yet that all *Christ's* Actions and Passions are full of Mysteries, and nothing acted or suffered by him, in which there was not an over-ruling wonderful Providence of God in Mercy and Wisdom: and withal let him consider, that all his Acts and Sufferings are our Instructions. But leaving this, Did he not in his Ministry teach and practise it? Teach it, when he commanded to render to *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*; when he convinced the *Jews*, who would gladly have shaken off *Cesar*, and his Right, arguing that they were by God's Law bound to pay *Cesar* Tribute, because he was their King, and this he proved by their Coin, (which with all sound knowing Politicians is *inter jura Majestatis*) which was printed with *Cesar's* Face and Supercription. Again, in his Death, Did not our Saviour *Christ* acknowledge *Pilate's* Power (that is the *Roman*, of which he was Deputy) to be from above? Did he not rebuke *Peter*, who with his Sword would have in a Defensive way saved him from those bloudy Persecutors? Did he not tell him, *He that killeth by the Sword, shall perish by the Sword*? that is, *Peter*, although thou think thou hast a good cause, that thou wilt defend me, and by resisting open force, preserve me thy Master, thy Saviour; deceive not thy self, it is not lawful by Arms, in the best Cause, for my Cause, for my Life, to resist Lawful Authority; if thou kill in my Defence, thou art worthy to suffer Death by the Sword, by him that beareth the Sword not in vain. When *Peter* over-reached himself in this distempered zeal, cut off *Malechus* his Ear, *Christ*, before that Offence should have

have been done by any of his, in his company, for his Cause, will be at the pains to cure this wound miraculously. Would God, Pope and Papeling, Jesuit and Sectary, Puritan and Presbyterian, would fix their hearts upon these Practices of Christ, by a singular Wisdom of God so clearly and fully recorded, practised in Christ's Nativity, Childhood, practised and taught in his Ministry, practised and taught when he was a dying, when he was looking Death in the face, at which time the most sinful man will neither dissemble nor temporize. I doubt much if in any act of Christ, during his coming into the World, and his going home again to his Father, you can instance any to parallel this; to exceed it, sure I am you cannot. And what, I pray you, can the Pope challenge more than to be *Minister Evangelii*, a Minister of the Gospel, as our Lord was, *Circumcisionis*, of the Circumcision? He shall never be accounted with me the true Vicar of Christ, who teacheth contrary to Christ, and practiseth contrary to his Practices: Me thinketh he looketh more like, and hath nearer alliance with the man mentioned *2 Thes. 2. Who exalteth himself above every thing is called God.* It is very considerable likewise, that in the Apostolical Creed, which is so full, so brief, and nothing in it but what is necessary to be believed to Salvation, that I say in this short Creed, *Pontius Pilate* (whose memory is accursed) by the Spirit of God which ruled his Church in setting this down, is recorded. It is not for his Honour certainly, but for our good and edification, that there it is said, *Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate*, that we may learn, if we expect Salvation by Faith in Christ, we must submit to Authority, by obedience to what they command, if it be lawful; and submitting humbly, and suffering,

suffering, if Authority urge that which is unlawful, and against God. And that this we are bound to, although the Magistrate be as opposite to Christianity as a Heathen, and the Cause for which we suffer be for Christ and his Church. We will never help Christ nor his Church by Arms against Authority, or Religion by Rebellion. If our Sectaries give us a new Creed, it will concern them near, with the expunging of Christs descent to Hell, and the Communion of Saints, to raze out this, *He suffered under Pontius Pilate*. If their Practices be so contradictory to Christ's, they cannot but *consequently*, by consequence, be destructive of the Christian Faith; where the Reward of those are to be expected you know too well. It were better for you not only to expunge Christ's Descent into Hell, but to annihilate Hell it self, which by a close Committee you may resolve upon, if your *omnipotent power* can be able to do it: I mean, your *fancied coordinate power*, which you have of late erected against Sovereignty fixed in the Lord's Anointed, as in the Church you have erected Altar against Altar. God open your Eyes to see your monstrous Sins and Errours, and to give to you and to us all true Repentance, that the fearful vengeance of God overtake us not, and in the World to come be forced by sensible, eternal, and horrible pains, to acknowledge the Truths which now we reject, although plainly in Scripture declared, in the most Authentick Apostolical Creed determined, and by the current and not interrupted suffrage of the Fathers, above seven hundred years believed. Lord have mercy upon us, and turn his Wrath and fearful Indignation from us. I dare not to express what I fear, when I look upon these outrages committed against Sacred Truth: How God and his Word are abused, His San-

ctuary defiled, His Ordinances repealed, Mischief framed by the Law, Sacred Persons violated, and the Lords Anointed fearfully rebelled against. My resolution is to dissolve unto Tears and Prayers, and with my Master say daily, say hourly, *Lord forgive them, for they know not what they do.*

The weakness of this Assertion, *that Kings are not Christ's Vicegerents*, we have as we hope sufficiently proved: It is high time now to discover the wickedness of it. The purpose they have by this and the like Assertions, is to reserve the managing of all Religious Affairs in their largest latitude to themselves; vindicating it as peculiar and proper, *quarto modo*, to their Conventicles, Presbyteries, and Assemblies. This Sovereignty they make so Sovereign and Independent, that all Kings and Sovereigns whatsoever must submit to it. This Sovereignty Ecclesiastical may restrain and constrain the King at pleasure. It may repeal his Laws; correct his Statutes; reverse his Judgments. It may establish its own, urge Obedience, Cite, Convent, and Censure in case of Disobedience: And if they be not of Power to execute what they decree, they may call for or command the help and assistance of the People, in whom is that underived Majesty; and to this purpose may promise, covenant, swear to stand to the maintenance of their Fancies against all whatsoever, and to defend each another, *contra omnes mortales*, with their Goods, Lands, Fortunes, Honours, Lives, to admit no divisive motion (which is real, and to be such, if the Authority of this Church declare it such) whatsoever, to suppress whatsoever is contrary to the good intended in this Covenant and association, if it be in their power; so that this Sovereign maketh every man *armatum magistratum*, to be armed

armed with Power, and the way left to himself; for ought we know it may be *Ravilliac's* way, or *Guido Faux's* way.

Surely here is a Despotical Sovereignty, and more than ever was challenged by any, the *Turk* or King of *Spain* without *Europe*: This is to tyrannize over mens Souls, for no man must be suffered to live or enjoy any Freedom, or Life there, who dissenteth in the least point of their voluminous Creed from them; and if he assist not with his Monies, his Arms, his Hands, to the loss of his Life, for his Religion, he is either Prelatical or Papistical, and for his affection to the *States*, (a word incompatible with Monarchy, and of highest Treason) he is at best a *Malignant*. At pleasure of this Sovereignty every man must give the *Quota* this Sovereignty prescribeth, the Twentieth, the Tenth, the Fifth part, &c. must give loan of what moneys they have by them, or upon Bank, for the good Cause, upon security of the Publick Faith, (a *non ens*, which is like, if God prevent it not, to ruine the Reformed Orthodox Catholick Faith, and moral Faith and Truth amongst men for what other they specify and ordain: What a vast Sovereignty is this? the extent of it is immense; for nothing shall be without the Sphere of this Power, which hath no motion but eccentric; no Person without the verge of this Scepter. And good reason for all this, for this is *God* and *Christ's* Institution; this Sovereignty is the individual companion of the Gospel, the holy discipline, the discipline of *Christ*, half the Kingdom of *Christ*, the undoubted Note of the Church, the eternal Counsel of *God*, it is the Scepter of the Son of *God*. You see the Effect of it, w^t a happy, what a glorious Reformation it hath brought with it, the like was never seen since the Apostles dayes: this

Reformation will pull down Antichrist from his Throne, the bearing of the beginning of it, how it enlarges it self now to be sworn too in England, will make the Pope of Rome and his Cardinals knees smite one against another. *Quid verba audiam cum facta non videam?* Judge of the Tree by its Fruits, as our Master hath taught us, and we will find all their good words, are, as Jurists say, *Protestatio contraria facto*, solemn Protestations, liberal Promises (you know whose custom this is) but slack Performances: Would to God that had been all no, a world of mischiefs have followed upon it, and it is to be feared, that what is past is but *apex malorum*, the beginnings of troubles. The most glorious Church amongst the Reformed, the staff and strength of Reformed Religion is broken in shivers, where all things are lawful except to serve God; and all Sects, all Schisms allowed, except the Orthodox Truth and Ordinances of God. This Reformation is written in Letters of Blood, acted with the greatest Cruelty, against not onely Innocent, but Deserving men, with Calumnies, Rapine, Robbery, Cruelty, that Father, Mother, and young ones, if they have not been starved with hunger and cold, have been exposed to extreamest indigency, contempt, and mockery. I dare to say, no Persecution that ever was, can parallel this Persecution, for Impiety, Injustice and Cruelty. What heart bleedeth not to see these Kingdoms, happy before, to the Envy of other Kingdoms and States, to be the mocking-stock of the World; that the *Canaanite* and *Perizzite* rejoyceth to look upon our Misery, to see the Desolation standing in the Holy place, and those Kingdoms, of late the desire of all the Earth, turned into an *Akeldama*; and no other fruit of this glorious Reformation, but to kill Christians for Christ's sake, and

and to plunder for Religions sake? Lord forgive them, for Christ's sake, and remove our Sins, and those fearful Judgments: and I beg pardon of the Reader for this Digression or Regret, which I have poured out with a sad heart, and wish them no worse than speedy Repentance.

For all we have said of this Antichristian Sovereignty, whereby the *Popish* and Factionous would exalt the Presbytery and Representative Body above all that is called God; Let no man imagine that we ran to the other Extreme, to privilege a King from the direction and just Power of the Church; or that we would encourage him, or set him on, like *Uzziah*, to intrude upon Sacred actions, proper to Ecclesiastical Persons; *Ex vi ordinis*, In direction by the Word, administration of the Sacraments: binding and loosing, in interiori foro conscientie, or, in exteriori, by the Spiritual Censures annexed to the Keys. Sure I am, no pious or knowing King (as blessed be God our Sovereign is) will by right of his Crown, which he holdeth immediately of Christ, usurp upon this; but on the contrary, as a Son of the Church, will submit to the Church his Mother, or rather Christ in Church-men reconciling him to God. Elsewhere (by Gods Grace, if God give us Life and Leisure) in a several Treatise by it self, we intend to lay open this point. In sum, briefly we say, that men in Sacred Orders, *In rebus pure spiritualibus*, in things meetly and intrinsically of themselves Spiritual, have from Christ immediately a directive and authoritative Power, in order to all whatsoever, although ministerial onely, as related to Christ: But this giveth them no Coercive Civil Power over a Prince, either *per se*, or *per accidens*, either *primarie* or *secundarie*; either *principaliter* or *consecutive*, directive

Or *indirectly*, simple or absolute, that either the one way or the other, directly or indirectly, absolutely or respectively by it self, or in *ordine ad spiritualia*, any or many in sacred orders, Pope or Presbytery, can convent, cite, censure, in case of Defaultance, Supply, and in case of not obeying what God in Scripture hath commanded, to covenant, associate, swear, and take Sacrament upon it, to resist him, oppose him, and force him to submit to the Scepter of Christ. This Power over man God Almighty useth not, much less hath he given it to man: *Psal. 110. His People are a willing People. Suadenda non cogenda religio, nihil minus Religionis quam Religionem cogere.* Nor doth that spiritual Power which entirely we give to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, rob the King, as he is the nursing Father of the Church, of the power Christ hath endowed him with, as a Christian King, in *externa gubernatione Ecclesie*. We must not look on Kings as on others of the Flock of Christ, although we may neither preach, nor administer the Sacraments, nor bind, nor loose, nor give sacred Orders, nor excommunicate, these are things only proper to Priests, *Primi & secundi ordinis*, of the first and second Order and Degree: Yet the exercise of these things freely within his Kingdom, what concerneth the decent and orderly doing of all, and what concerns *externum hominem*, by coercive Power, or *externam gubernationem Ecclesie*, the external Government of the Church, in appointing the use of things, arbitrary and indifferent, and what else is of this strain, are so due to the Prerogative of the Crown, as that we must not rob him of it; nor may the Priest without highest Rebellion against God intrench or usurp upon the King. A King in the State and Church is a mixed Person, not simply Civil, but
Sacred

Sacred too: They are not only *Professores fidei*, Professors of the Truth, that they have in the Capacity of a Christian: but they are also *Propugnatores fidei*, Defenders of the Faith; which is proper to them in the Capacity of a King. What is the meaning of that, that in Scripture they are honoured with more than the Stile of a Son of the Church; they are called by *Isaiah*, or rather God himself, *The Nurse-fathers of the Church*? This is not to be so scantled, as if there were no more Influence from Kings upon the Church, but by Honour and Riches; other great men may and have done the like; it is meant by some Influence from their Crown, their Sword, their Scepter. What meaneth that Charge, *Psal. 2. 10, 11, 12. Be wise, O ye Kings, serve the Lord with Fear, kiss the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way; When his Wrath is kindled but a little?* I will believe Saint *Austin* more than all the glorious pretended Reformers of this happy Reformation, or Deformation rather, writing to *Boniface*. *Quomodo enim* (saith he) *Reges Domino servant, nisi ea quæ contra iussa Domini sunt religiosâ severitate prohibendo atque plecendo? Aliiter n. servit quàm homo est, aliter quàm etiam Rex est. Quia homo est, ei servit fideliter vivendo: quia vero etiam Rex est servit leges iusta præcipientes, & contraria prohibentes convenienti vigere faciundo. Sicut servivit Ezechias, Lucos, & templa idolorum, & excelsa quæ contra præcepta Dei fuerunt contraria destruendo. Sicut servivit Josias talia & ipse faciundo. Sicut servivit Rex Ninivitarum universam civitatem ad placandum Dominum compellando. Sicut servivit Darius, idolum frangendum in potestatem Danieli dando, & inimicos ejus Leonibus inferendo. Sicut servivit Nebuchadnezzar, de quo jam diximus omnes in regno suo posuit à Blasphemando Deo legi terribili prohibendo. In hoc ergo*

serviunt Domino Reges in quantum Reges, cum ea faciunt ad serviendum illi quæ non possunt facere nisi Reges. The Passage is plain, and hath more for the Right of Kings than *Jesuit* or *Puritan* will allow them; who will have them to be *Ministri* and *Executores*, their Servants to put in Execution what they ordain and command.

To make *Pope* or *Presbytery*, as the immediate Vicegerents of Christ, and to authorize them with a *coactive*, or a *coercive Power*, to confirm their Orders, to force him to repeal his own Laws, and in case of Defailance or Refusal, after Remonstrance is made, or Supplication as they call it, although possibly presented on the point of a Sword or Pike, to stir up people against the *Lords anointed*, to Sedition, to Rebellion, howsoever they deceive the simpler sort, to make them believe they dye Martyrs, is truly the Disgrace of Religion, the highest of Treasons against God and man, and to make poor People die Traytors to both.

If you make *two Sovereigns* in one Kingdom, *independent one from another*, there is no more Peace or Quiet to be expected, than was in *Rebecca's Womb*, whilst *Jacob* and *Esau* did strive for the Prerogative of the first born.

Nay, if you make the *Sovereign and Supreme managing of Religion* and religious Affairs to depend upon, and properly belong either to *any foreign power* without the Kingdom, as to the *Pope*; or to *any Power domestick* within it, as to the *Presbytery* or *Assembly*, you commit and entrust to their managing *the greatest and highest Affairs of Kingdom and State*; and if you take from the King the *Regiment in Religion*, you take from him that, which in its own nature is the mainest, the chiefest,

chiefest, and most excellent thing in Government, as may appear by what is subjoyned.

Religion is the Base and Bottom, on which all the Steadiness and Happiness of King and Kingdom are seated. *Religio & Timor Dei solus est, qui custodit hominum inter se societatem*: It is Religion and the Fear of God alone, which preserveth all Society, and consequently King and Kingdom: *Lactant. de Ira Dei, c. 12.* Religion is the Base, and it is the Cement too of all other Societies; besides this, *Plutarch* saith, that Religion is *συνέστικον ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας καὶ νομοθεσίας*, that which bindeth all Societies together, and giveth Strength to all Laws, Religion, it hath a mighty Influence upon Laws, it worketh hearty, sincere, and compleat Obedience. Religion rightly ordered maketh the Prince rule well, and people yield true, real, and perfect Obedience: This made *Aristotle* say, *Polit. l. 7. c. 8.* *πρῶτον ἢ περὶ θεῶν ἐπιμέλεια*. The first care in Policy should be that of Religion and things divine. Religion rightly ordered, is the Preserver, Nurse, and Defence of the Quiet of King and State. I say Religion rightly order'd, for Superstition is a mad and madding thing: *Seneca ep. 24. Superstitio error insanus est.* *Trismegistus* saith, *apud Lactant. Institut. lib. 11. c. 16.* *μία φυλακὴ ἐν ἑβραία*, Piety and the fear of God is the safest and only Defence of all things. Religion in Sum is the only thing to make private and publick Affairs to prosper. Which thing being infallibly true, it must necessarily follow, that Religion is the most important of all Affairs of State and Kingdom. How can it then subsist and consist with Reason that the King shall have no more hand or Power in Religion, than to execute at the Command of Pope or Presbytery? To do it or do worse?

Christ

Christ did never institute such a Sovereignty in Ecclesiastical persons, either *Pope* or *Sectaries*, Independent from King and Sovereign, with which they are invested with Power from Christ, from above immediately. If it were so, the *Pope* or *Presbytery* were in better Condition than the *King*. The Ecclesiastical Sovereignty hath the Souls in subjection, under no less Sanction, than with Assurance of Salvation eternal, in case of Obedience, and Damnation eternal, in case of Disobedience, and both of them to be extended both to Soul and Body. Religion is seated in the Soul, and is a mighty Ruler there: the civil Sovereignty holdeth only a dead Dominion over the Bodies. That Sovereignty which hath the Soul in Subjection, the Conscience at his Devotion, must over-rule Royal Civil Sovereignty, and shall be able at any time so to limit, weaken, lessen, yea disable it, that it shall be no more fearful abroad, nor glorious and powerful at home with it's Subjects than the spiritual Sovereignty shall permit. It is most true and consonant to our purpose, that *Cicero* saith, *Orat. in Verr. 5. Omnes Religione moventur*, men are naturally swayed that way Religion hangeth; we may see it in the furious Superstition of those Distempers. Is it not verified this day in our eyes, that a multitude *vana Religione capta, melius vatibus quam ducibus paret suis*, misled with an erroneous Religion, will obey and follow mad Priests sooner than their lawful and religious Prince: they will part with what is dearest to them, to advance their Designs, their Desires; they will throw away their Ear-rings to cast their molten Calves; they will not spare to sacrifice their Children with the King of *Edom*, or to cut themselves with Knives like to the Priests of *Baal*. People thus madded, and set on edge by mad

Secta-

Sectaries and *Sheba's*, *Circumcellion*-like will act all Mischief, spare neither Crown nor Mitre, Ephode nor Diadem, things sacred or civil; fancying strongly with themselves that they fight the Lord's Battels, for Religion, for Liberty, and dying in Rebellion as men raging in a Fever to dream they die Martyrs, when they die Traytors to God and to his anointed.

Diodorus Sicul. lib. 6. cap. 10. relateth a Story very apposite to this Purpose, that the Priests of *Jupiter* in the Island *Meroe* compassed with the River *Nilus*, by this Sovereignty kept the People of *Æthiopia* in so superstitious Obedience, so absolute and blind Dependence upon them, that at Pleasure, they commanded the killing of the King by their own Subjects, none of them daring to deny or delay to put in Execution what the Priests commanded: this continued long, till *Ergamenes* a wise King of *Æthiopia*, sensible of this damnable and impious extravagant Sovereignty, waiting his Opportunity, secretly surprized them all, Priests and Profession. We need not refer you to the *German* Writers, and *Italian*, that you may see what Mischiefs the Popes unjust Challenge of Sovereignty above Emperours, hath wrought in the World; nor to *Joseph. lib. 2. de bell. Jud. ca. 12.* or to *Florus* his Slave, *Emus* by name, who pretending an immediate Dependency from God wrought so much Disturbance to *Rome* in power, *Flor. lib. 3. cap. 16.* Nor need I refer you to the *Turkish* Annals to learn, what mischief upon this ground *Shacoen Lis* wrought: or to *Leo* to read what mischief *Elmabel* with the people of *Morocco*, wrought against *Abraham* their native King. See *Leo lib. 2.* and if you will *lib. 3.* where you have the Story, how upon this ground *Chenim Mannal* made the King of *Ness* to quit to him the Kingdom of *Tumasma*: Heathenish, Turkish, Jewish, Christian stories witness that

that where a Sovereignty religious, independent is erected within a Kingdom, or without it, the temporal and civil must submit. We need not, I say, refer you to these Stories, Jewish, Ethniall or Turkish, we may see the doleful Effects, this Tenet with it's practice hath brought upon these Kingdoms. The Calamities which the Authors and Abettors of these Paradoxes have brought upon us, and the present Distemper and Distress we are cast into, if they surpass not, certainly in their due Proportion, are equal to those we have recorded in authentick Story, were set on Foot betwixt *Gregory* the seventh, and *Henry* the fourth; betwixt *Innocent* the fourth, and *Frederick*; betwixt *Boniface* the eighth, and *Philip* King of *France*. The Puritan and Presbytery by their independent Ecclesiastical Sovereignty will act as much Mischief ere it be long, if God in mercy stop not the Current of their Fury and Malice; as in many Ages past, the Pope of *Rome* hath done by his unjust and usurped Tyranny over and above Kings. It feareth me, the Tragedies of *Munster* and this time shall never be forgotten.

Let the Christian Reader, whose Affection is right, and whose judgment is not perverted, judge how happy was our case when Gods Ordinance had place; had Power, Prince and Priest had their sacred due right, what Plenty, Peace, what Happiness King and Kingdoms did enjoy and rejoyce in. And on the other part, let him reflect his Thoughts, and consider how since this Sovereignty Ecclesiastical hath been elsewhere erected, maintained; how here a Sovereignty civil, co-ordinate, collateral to royal Sovereignty is set up. And withal let the judicious Reader see how both the one and the other do concur to the Destruction of
Episco-

Episcopacy, to the lessening certainly, if not the total overthrowing of Monarchy; but differ extreamly in this Sovereignty Ecclesiastical, for in one Kingdom the Presbytery, the Assembly is so Sovereign, so independent in Ecclesiastical and spiritual things, that it giveth Laws, Orders to the Sovereign Prince and Parliament, and demandeth as due a *Subsecutio* a Confirmation of them, civil Sanction, and Execution upon Refractories and Delinquents. In the other, the co-ordinate Power erected, over-ruleth, controuleth, and at Pleasure directeth what they in their infallible Judgment and answerable Jurisdiction, judge Orthodox in Faith, right for the Worship, and orderly for Canons of Government.

The last medleth in *spiritualibus*, in things meerly spiritual and ecclesiastical, in *ordine ad civilia*, in order to the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdoms. The other hath so enlarged its Jurisdiction and Sovereignty ecclesiastical, that it trencheth upon and medleth with things meerly civil, but in *ordine ad spiritualia* as related to Religion and the Church. Both the one and the other are of equal Extent, for this in *ordine ad civilia*, on the one part, and in *ordine ad spiritualia* on the other, are such relative and respective Terms and Distinctions as can admit, and authorise Church-men to do, act, and meddle in matters of State of highest Concernment; and Lay-men again, to do the like in things most spiritual, and by divine Right, reserved for men in sacred Orders. So long as such Tenets are maintained, & with Practices accordingly strengthened, we cannot expect God's Blessing on Church or State. To both the one and the other God may justly say, *Quis hæc requisivit a vobis?* Who hath required these things of your hands? and where God's Ordinance is not, and his own Ordinance is infringed, that men intrude upon that is not their

their Right, or usurp upon sacred Right, his Blessing is not to be expected. Again, we aver confidently, till this *Babel* be beat down, there will never be peace nor Quiet in Church or Kingdom, nor shall private men enjoy the Fruits of their Labours in Peace.

If this co-ordinate, usurped, and new-fancied Sovereignty usurp so much upon God and the Churches Right, we shall become a mocking stock to the *Roman Church*: If the other independent, ecclesiastical Sovereignty obtain, it is not to be doubted but that Immunity Ecclesiastical of sacred Persons and their Goods shall not only be established, but also raised to a higher Strain and Pitch than *Romanists* do claim it. This I say cannot but undoubtedly follow upon their Principles and Practices, if there were not some hope, that those Creatures whom God never made, and Christ never instituted, *Lay Elders* I mean, oppose not and retard the Course, who are invested with sacred power, to determine Truth in Controversies and Mysteries of highest Concernment in Councils; to establish Canons; to prescribe a Form of Worship; a Catechism; to have the power of the Keys in all censures Ecclesiastical: in sum, in all things Ecclesiastical to have no less power, no less a Voice not only deliberative but decisive, than Priests or Ministers as they are pleased to call them; these *Lay Elders* are debarred from nothing, but only publick Preaching, and Administration of the Sacraments, Baptism, and the Eucharist; it is expected if the independent Ministry, another Head of this *Hydra* become the prevalent part, they will juggle the Presbyterian out of this, and restore all the *Laitie*, who in their Divinity are no less the Lords anointed than Prince, Priest, or Prophet. There is some hope, I say that these *Lay Elders*, a *novus* in Scripture, and never known to Antiquity, will curb them, that they shall not have way for such

a vast

a vast Immunity, finding already by sad and feeling Experience what a measure of Patience is required to bear their Insolency, and what Prudence is necessary to disappoint their ambitious and pragmatistical ends.

There is enough said to lay open the weakness and wickedness of this *Antichristian tenet, that Kings are God's, but not Christ's Vicegerents*. They cry out much against the Pope, to whom they do better service than they are aware of, (I pray God they were as real and true Euemies to Popery, as moderate and Orthodox Protestants are, whom the Pope feareth more than them, and with just reason) and seeing I have not much hope that what is said will work much upon them, let me tell them that in their Tenet and Practice they are worse than the good Popes were, and I dare say, all to *Gregory the Great* (hear it from his mouth, and startle not at it, he was a better Christian than any of your Sect or Sectaries) thus he writeth, *Lib. 3. Epist. 61. to Maurice the Emperour, Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc Dominus unicum non eras : Ecce pro me respondebis Christus, dicens, Ego te de notario comitem excubitorum ; de comite Casarem ; de Casare Imperatorem feci. Sacerdotes meos manui tue commisi, & tu a servitio meo milites tuos subtrahis : Ego quidem iussioni vestre subieci legem vestram per diversas terrarum partes transmitti feci. Et quia lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minime concordat ; ecce per suggestionis mee paginam Serenissimis Dominis nuntiavi ; utrobique ergo quae debui exolvi, qui & Imperatori obedienciam praeui, & pro Deo quod sensi minime taui.* And in another Epistle written to *Theodor*, *Epist. 64.* He saith, *Valde mihi durum videtur, ut ab ejus servitio milites suos subtrahat, qui & ei omnia tribuit, & dominari non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit.* Maurice was no bad Emperour,

perour, and Gregory certainly was a good Bishop; yet Maurice had commanded that none serving in his Wars, or any Officer whatsoever accountant unto him, should be admitted either to Sacred Orders, or a Religious Monastical Life, without his special Warrant. Reason may plead for the equity of this charge, because by the Bounty and Beneficence of Christian Emperours, men in sacred Orders, and Religious Persons, had admirable Priviledges, which might make his Armies weak by flying to sacred Orders and Religious Life, and exempt Accountants from doing what was due in civil Justice, *ex Indulto Imperatorum*, not *ex jure Divino*, by the gratuite concession of Princes, and no direct Warrant from God or his Word. Whatever this was in it self which Maurice commanded Gregory to keep, and to intimate to all his Suffragan Bishops, and to be published in all Churches within the verge of his Jurisdiction; certain it is, in St. Gregory's judgment it was unlawful and sinful, for he saith, *Lex ipsa omnipotenti Deo minime concedat*; and again, *Valde durum mihi videtur*; yet what did he? He made this Ordinance of the Emperour's to be published throughout all his Churches; here is Obedience: and although it did belong properly and peculiarly to him as Bishop, to admit any qualified by God Almighty to sacred Orders; He submits to the restraining Ordinance of Sovereign Authority, and I am confident did not transgress. He pleadeth for no immunity to any sacred Person in sacred Orders; nay, he bringeth in Christ himself, saying, *Sacerdotes meos manui tue commisi*; I have committed to thy trust, to thy power, my Priests: and in this case which is Spiritual enough, and necessary enough for ought I can conceive, at least that part of it, of admitting of able men

men to sacred Orders, he humbly obeys ; he pleads not that he was *Christ's* Vicegerent, and *Maurice* only *God's* ; he objects not *Uzzia's* attempt to sacrifice ; he confesseth, or rather bringeth in *Christ*, speaking thus, He calls him not onely *His Lord*, but *Dominus omnium*, the Lord of all, without restraint ; he averreth that not onely he had by *God* *Dominion over Souldiers*, but over all sacred Persons in sacred Functions : *Ei omnia tribuit, & dominari non solum militibus sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit*. He knew no remedy else but *persuggestionis paginam*, by humble supplication, submiss admonition, to tell the Emperour it was not right ; he professed *his obedience*, and that not by *compulsion*, an extorted, a coerced one, *Quod debui exolveri, Imperatori obedientiam præbui* ; as he was bound, he obeyed ; and for his humble Remonstrance, he speaketh no less rightly than modestly, *Et pro Deo quod sensi minime tæcui* : He knew no more lay upon him than in humility and submiss freedom with Reverence to tell and admonish what he thought fit. The poor man knew not that as *Christ's* Vicegerent, in *Christ's* Kingdom, he was to oppose, to supplicate, petition, and if there were not a recalling, a repealing of the Imperial Edict, that they might excite the People to covenant, swear, and at last to present a Petition upon the point of a Pike, by right as he was *Christ's* Vicegerent. This holy man knew not this Divinity, it was never heard of in his age, nor any since the World began, it sprang not up till many Ages after, that that malicious one did sow Popple among the good Wheat of *Christ's* Field ; for a thousand years after *Christ*, the independent Sovereignty Ecclesiastical of the Pope was never known in the Christian Church. The Presbyterian Sovereignty not 'till fifteen hundred and above were

run out. The Parochian Pope, or independent Sovereign in every Parish, Christ's Vicegerent, except Almighty God right in mercy what is disjoyned in Church and State, is like to put the Presbyterian and Pope out of doors.

I may add a world of Testimonies of the Fathers, who expressly call *Kings Christs Vicegerents upon Earth*. *Athanasius* in the Sermon of the Blessed Virgin (explaining that of the Psalm, *Et regnabit in domo Jacob, in eternum, & regni ejus non erit finis*: And he shall reign in the House of *Jacob* for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no end) saith, ἐν λαβῶν ὁ χριστός τὸν θρόνον μετέστησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀγίοις χριστιανῶν βασιλεῦσιν, ἐπαναστασάσαι τέττες ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ. Christ therefore receiving the Throne of *David*, hath translated it, and hath given it to the Sacred Kings of Christians. In St. *Athanasius* his mind Christian Kings are Christ's Vicegerents, and sit Deputies upon his Throne.

Take the Suffrage of many together, all the Fathers of the Council of *Arminium*, writing to *Constantius*, δι' ἧς (which Relative ἧς referreth to the *Antecedent Jesus Christ*) σοι καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖν ἔπ' αὐτῷ ἦξεν, ὡς καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης κρατεῖν. The sense is, By Christ thou reignest, and hast dominion over all the World.

Liberius speaketh thus to *Constantius* the Emperour, τῷτο ὃ σοι συμβουλευόμεν, μὴ μετὰ πρὸς τὴν δέδωκεται σοι τιμὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, μὴ αὐτὴν εὐχαριστίας ἀσέβειας εἰς αὐτόν. All know that *Constantius* was an *Arrian*, a great Persecutor of the Orthodox, who maintained the Deity of Christ. *Liberius* writing

ting to him, admonisheth him not to fight against Christ, who had given him the Empire, nor to be so unthankful unto him, as to be impious against him.

Seeing then that Scripture, Antiquity, and Reason stand for this Truth, that Kings are Christ's Vicegerents upon Earth, let us not be deceived with the no less fond, than new devised distinction of our Novators and Sectaries, who by differencing betwixt *God's Vicegerents upon Earth, and Christ's Vicegerents upon Earth*, intend nothing else but to throw down Crowns and Royal Diadems, and lay them at the foot of Presbytery and Assembly, and to set up a Tribunal of their own, a *Sovereignty Ecclesiastical* to domineer over all Powers else whatsoever. I wish they would here remember that passage which otherwise and in another case they pervert and abuse sufficiently, *Matth. 20. 25, 26. Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are Great exercise Authority upon them, but it shall not be so among you. Or that of St. Bernard to Eugenius the Pope, Indicitur ministerium, interdicatur ministerium.* Let any who will duly consider what enormous, extravagant Sovereignty hath been acted by the Presbytery, how much the intrinsical right of Sovereignty hath been restrained and lessened, and it seareth me, you will hardly find so much acted by all the Popes since *Hildebrand's* time, as by them in this short space. I leave this, and come in the next place to prove by the Testimony of Fathers, that Kings are not the Derivatives of the People.

C H A P. VI.

That the King is solely dependent from God and Christ, and independent from all others, is proved by the suffrages of the Holy Fathers.

THE Holy Fathers and Martyrs in the prior and purer Age of the Church knew no other Doctrine; they spake no other Language.

We begin with *Clemens Romanus*, *Constit. l. 7. c. 17.* τὸν Βασιλέα φοβήσῃς, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ κρεῖττον ἐστὶν χειροτονία. *Fear or honour the King, knowing that He is ordained or constituted by the Lord.* It may be it will be told us, this is a spurious *Clemens*, and not the genuine that was Bishop of Rome; and if we alledge *Ignatius*, it is to be feared he'll fare no better, for a great Scholar but no great Divine hath very now rejected all we have of him. I will therefore give some Testimonies from such against whom this exception lyeth not.

See *Irenæus*, lib. 5. *advers. hæres. c. 20.* where at large he proveth, That Kingdoms are not of the Devil, but that all Kings relate to God as to their first and immediate Origine, Donor, Author; adduceth some of the pregnant Testimonies of Scripture which we have alledged before, giveth the Devil a Lye, who durst to challenge to himself the right to dispose of all Kingdoms, *Luke 4. 6.* Our new Anti-monarchical Statists had need to consider this, and whose Children they make the People, to whom they gave the Right and Power

Power to dispose of Kings and Kingdoms at pleasure. S. Irenæus is so zealous, so fervent of God and the King's Right and Prerogative, that he will not admit the good and Heavenly Angels to this Honour; nor will he admit that Saint Paul's ἐξουσία ὑπερέχουσα, Rom. 13. 1, 2. Higher Powers, are Angelical, but that the Apostle meant it *de his* (a clear and full commentary to St. Peter's ἀνδραγαθὸν κλῆρος, 1 Ep. 2. 14.) *quæ secundum homines sunt potestates*, of Humane and Royal Sovereignty. To this add, that the Father in the place alledged, armeth Kings with entire Sovereignty, and that necessarily to restrain the corruption of man: where he also expresseth the infinite good cometh to mankind by Government; and leaveth Sovereigns delinquents to the Judgment and Tribunal of God. All these Points you will find by the Father, where, amongst other things to our purpose, he saith most appositely and pregnantly, *Cujus enim jussu nascuntur homines; hujus jussu & Reges constituentur, apti his qui in illo tempore ab ipsis regnantur. Quidam enim illorum ad correctionem & utilitatem subjeclorum dantur, & conservationem Justitiæ: Quidam autem ad timorem, penam & increpationem; quidam autem ad illusionem & contumeliam, & superbiam, quemadmodum & digni sunt Dei justo judicio, &c.* This place is *certa sedes dogmatis & sententiæ Patris*, a proper place from which we may draw warrantably the Fathers Tenet, concerning the Author and Donor of Sovereignty. Here the Holy Father is proving, *That the Devil is not the Author of Kings and Sovereign Power*. He referreth all to God the immediate Author and Origine of Royalty. If the Church of Christ at this time, and he with it, had believed with our Μοναρχουαίχοι, opposers of Monarchy, That all Power was radically, primarily, and

independently inherent in People, and from them derived to Kings, this was a fit place to express it; and we see he knew no more, but *Cujus jussu nascuntur homines, hujus jussu & regat constituuntur, &c.* and it is worthy of our notice taking, that God maketh and sendeth Kings, as in his wise Providence he thinketh for the Punishment of our Sins, or in his Mercy and Bounty to bless us when we walk in his ways.

Tertullian speaketh in the same Idiom, writing ad Scapulam, he saith, *Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum Imperatoris: quem sciens à Deo constitutum, necesse est ut & ipsam diligat, revereatur & honoret, & saluum velit cum toto imperio, quousque seculum stabit tamdiu etiam stabit. Colimus ergo Imperatorem sic quomodo & nobis licet & ipsi expedit, ut hominem à Deo secundum, & quicquid est à Deo constitutum, solo Deo minorem. Hoc & ipse vult, sit enim omnibus major est dum solo vero Deo minor est.* The sense of it is, *A Christian is Enemy to none, much less to King and Emperour, whom he knoweth to be of Gods Constitution, and so is necessarily bound to love, reverence, and honour him, to whom with his Empire he wiseth all Safety, for when that perisheth, it is like the World will be at an end: We honour the Emperour therefore so much as we are allowed by Gods Law, and as much as is expedient for him, as the man who is next to God himself: (Tertullian had not learned in those times that the Emperour or King was *Universis minor*) and whatsoever he was reduplicating, by Reduplication as Emperour, He was such a one by Gods Donation and Collation, and was and is inferiour to none, to any, or many, but to God alone. This Divinity of the ancient Church is point blank opposite to the Divinity of these latter times,*

Turn to him again in his *Apologitick* against the Gentiles, cap. 30. where he saith, *Nos enim pro salute eterna Deum vocamus eternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum; quam & ipsi Imperatores propitium sibi propter ceteros mallent. Sciunt quis illis dederit Imperium; Sciunt qui homines, qui & animas: Sentiant enim Deum esse solum, in cujus solius sunt potestate, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi ante omnes.---Inde est Imperator, unde & homo antequam Imperator, inde potestas illi, unde & Spiritus.* What can be more emphatically spoken? God, in *Tertullians* Divinity, is no less immediate Author and Creator of Sovereignty, than of the Soul of man. In Preeminence they are next to God, above all; their Authority subordinate too, co-ordinate with none. *Rex qua Rex reduplicative*, a King as King essentially hath no Constituent but only the King of Heaven. Kings are solely and entirely reserved to the Judgment, to the Tribunal of Almighty God. It feareth me, if *Tertullian* were living now a-days, he would be translated as a Court-parasite.

Optatus Bishop of *Milvius* was of the same Faith. He writeth lib. 3. contr. *Parmen.* *Super Imperatorem non est nisi solus Deus qui fert Imperatorem: Quot verba, tot argumenta;* a short, a most powerful Expression. There is none above the Emperour, the King, but God alone; not any; not many; not the diffusive, the collective, the Representative, the virtual Body; the reason is in natural reason strong, Almighty God only hath made him Emperour, made him King.

Athanasius his Suffrage and Testimony you have before, cap. 5. and with him you have *Hosius* in *epist. ad Solit. vit. agent.* writing and averring constantly, confidently, to *Constantius* an *Arrian* Emperour, *you the Cæsar* ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχρῆσεν; God hath given to thee the

Kingdom, the Sovereignty. If you will have *Athanasius* alone, take his Testimony from his own Mouth, in his Apology to *Constantius*; ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι δεδωκότι; But thanks to the Lord who gave to thee the Empire.

Saint *Chrysostom* lived and died in the same Faith. You may read him *Tom. 6.* according to Sir *Henry Savil's* Edition, *Orat. 40. Orat. 2.* to the People of *Antioch*: There at that time he was *Presbyter*, when by a tumultuary uproar the Statues of *Theodosius* were broke, and reproachfully-abused. The holy man after a most passionate and plentiful Regret, expresseth the Riot thus; μεγατεράμειν πάσης ἰατρείας μείζον, that it was a wound so open that no hand could cure it. Then exhorteth all with *Job* to sit upon the dung-hill, to mourn that they were left to themselves to fall into so high a Transgression: O! what Expressions? what Exclamations? what Regrets had been by that holy Father, if he had seen what we see to day, and heard what we hear! He subjoyneth ὃ δὲ ἔστιν ὁ ὑβριθεὶς ὁμῶς τινα ἔχων ὅτι τῷ γῆς. Βασιλεὺς Κεφαλὴ καὶ κορυφὴ τῶν ὅτι τῷ γῆς πάντων. He the Emperor, who is so reproachfully abused, hath none upon Earth comparable to him in honour. He is the head, nay, if any thing be imaginable that can be higher than the Head, he is apex, vertex, the Top of the Head, the Crown, and that not of one, every one, any or many, but τῶν ὅτι τῷ γῆς πάντων of all upon Earth.

Saint *Hierom* homologates and confirms what they say commenting upon *Dan. 2.* upon these words, He changeth Times and Seasons, &c. Non erga miremur, saith he, si quando cernimus, & regibus reges, & regnis regna succedere

succedere, quæ Dei gubernantur, & mutantur, & finiuntur arbitrio, causasque singulorum novit ille, qui conditor omnium est, & sæpè malos reges patitur suscitari, ut mali malos puniant. Saint Hierom's mind is fully this, that Kings and Kingdoms have their Constitution, Change, and destitution by the sole royal Pleasure of God.. And that in all, he is no less the Author than he is Creator of all. Finally, that not only good Kings are of God's making, but bad Kings too, and that to punish our Sins.

No man hath spoken more home than Saint Augustine, look upon him l. 4. de Civit. Dei, c. 33. *Deus ille felicitatis Author, quia solus verus deus est, ipse dat regna terrena bonis & malis. Neque hoc temerè, quasi fortuito, quia deus est, non fortuna, sed pro rerum ordine & tempore, occulto nobis, notissimo sibi.* In which Passage St. Austin vindicates the making of Kings absolutely to God, by a reason unanswerable, *Quia solus verus deus est*; because he alone is the true God. The meaning is, you may as well deny him to be the only true God, as rob him of this Prerogative of making Kings; and in his Sense, he or they that assume this power to themselves, intrude sacrilegiously upon God's Right. He amplifieth this, shewing Kings are not casual by hap-hazard, but causal, God in his wise and unsearchable Providence sending bad or good Kings according to the Exigence of time and the people, to bless or punish. He resolves all in a *docta ignorantia*, a mysterious way, that howsoever we cannot reach the way nor find the reason, why it is so, yet is well known to God, to which we are religiously to submit, and not curiously and presumptuously to enquire.

Turn to him again, l. 5. de Civit. Dei, c. 21. *Non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperii potestatem nisi vero Deo---*

Deo---ille igitur unus verus Deus qui nec iudicio nec adiutorio deserit genus humanum; quando velit & quantum voluit Romanis regnum dedit: qui dedit Assyriis, vel etiam Persis; Qui Mario, ipse Caio Caesari; Qui Augusto, ipse & Neroni; Qui Vespasiano vel patri vel filio suavissimis Imperatoribus, ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo; & ne per singulos ire necesse sit, qui Constantino Christiano ipse Apostate Juliano.---Hoc planè Deus unus verus regit & gubernat ut placet. A Passage able to stop the Devil's Mouth: observe in it first, that Saint Augustine will not admit that Kings and Kingdoms are derived from Pope, Presbytery, or People, but of him alone who is *Deus verus unus*, the true and only God. 2. Next, that he will admit no more search, but to be content with his *placet*. Will to give it to whom he will, and in what Extent for Power and Time he will. Thirdly, in Saint Austin's mind this is not only verified of the Jewish Kings, but of the Assyrian, Persian, Roman, and all others besides. Fourthly, Saint Austin knew not this new devised quirk of *potestas in abstracto*, & *concreto*, of Power abstractly considered from the Person in which it is fixed, but *in concreto*, he averreth that both the Power and Person invested with the Power are of God. Fifthly, it is worth our notice taking, that the holy Father specifieth only Empire and Monarchy. Sixthly, the Extent is most observable, this Conclusion or Maxim of Saint Austin's holds well, of all Kings whatsoever they be, Heathen, or Jewish, or Christian; if Christian, bad or good, sound in the Faith or Hereticks; if Heathen, whether good moral men or Persecutors. See and consider, how wisely and fitly he makes *Caesar* a coupling together; 1. of *Marius* and *Caio* Caesar. 2. Of *Augustus*, and *Nero*, *Flavius* the Father, and *Titus* the Son with *Domitian*.

3. Of *Constantine* the sound Christian; and *Julian* the Apostate. Seventhly, lastly, it is most observable that he will have all of all sorts to be entirely given to God, *Non tribuamus nisi vero Deo dandi regni atque imperii potestatem.* This *non nisi vero Deo*, admits no sharer no copartner. He is not content to say it once, but resumeth it again, and with an *Emphasis*, a greater Strength of Expression, *Hec plane Deus unus verus regit, gubernat ut placet.* It is *unus verus Deus* and the way of bestowing *ut placet.* This holy Father is most plentiful for this Truth, for Brevities sake, I refer you to his 2. *Tom. Epist. 54. ad Maced.* and to his 6. *Tractat.* upon St. *John's* Gospel, *Tom. 9. & passim.*

The ancient Popes and Bishops of *Rome*, lived and died in this Faith. See *Anastasius Epist. unic. ad Anastas. Imperat.* *Liberius's* Testimony is above cited. *Symmachus*, writing to *Anastasius* the Emperour, saith, *Memento te hominem esse, ut possis recte uti concessa tibi divinitus potestate,* Remember (saith the holy Bishop) that thou art but a man, that thou mayst use aright that power which God hath given thee. *Leo* in his Epistle to *Leo* the Emperour, which in the *Tomes* of the Councils is 73. *Magnum ergo vobis est ut diademati vestro de manu Domini addatur corona fidei, & de hostibus Ecclesie triumphetis, &c.* *Leo* knew no better, but that his temporal Diadem was no less set upon his Head by the hand of God immediately, than the Crown of Faith, and that God made him to triumph over the Enemies of the Church; yet because a cavelling Spirit, such as our Sectaries are inspired with, may cloud this Passage by an amphibolous Construction, I gave you a plain one *Epist. 13.* writing to *Pulcheria* the Empress, where he saith, *Sicuti Spiritu sancto didicistis, illi per omnia potestatem vestram subjecistis, cujus munere*
 & pro-

◊ *protectione regnatis.* Saint Leo knew not that there was any co-ordinate Power with the Emperour, He knew he was solely and immediately subordinate to God, to whom he ought of due to submit and subject himself, and that with good reason, because by his immediate Gift and Collation he had the Empire, and by his Power was protected in his Government. The holy Bishop raiseth this so high, as to intimate it is a Doctrine taught by the Holy Spirit; let the World and good men judge then, what Spirit teacheth the different or contrary Doctrine. *Stephanus* the sixth writing to *Basilius* the Emperour, saith, that *He carried the Image of Christ himself upon Earth, vide Baron. Tom. 10. Anno 885. n. 11.* It is like enough the Church then did not stand to call Emperours *Christ's Vicegerents.* In brief, in sum, Was it not the usual Benediction the holy Popes of Rome used, writing to Emperours and Kings, to wish to them Grace, all Health and Happinels, *In eo per quem Reges regnant, in God, and by God, by whom Kings onely reign?*

It were easie for us to adduce numbers of Councils to prove this truth. The Councel of Toledo, *Tolet. 6. c. 14. Nefas est in dubium ejus deducere potestatem, cui omnium gubernatio supremo constat delegata judicio:* It is an impious thing and unlawful, to call in question his Power, to whom to rule over all is by Divine Judgment and Decree collated. Amongst the Councils of Paris you have one, which after that it hath produced many Testimonies of Scripture, and namely some of those we cited above, to prove the immediate constitution of Kings by Almighty God, concludeth thus; *Constat ergo quia non actu, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humane, sed virtute, immo occulto judicio dispositionis divine regnum confertur terrenum.* This expression

is worthy to be set in Letters of Gold : the Fathers there met together will not have the coming at Kingdoms to be *from any act humane, any desire or endeavour humane, any Power humane* ; but from the Power of God, and the wise, the secret disposing of God in his over-ruling Providence.

If it could add any thing to what is said, we might have a cloud of Witnesses of Humane and Heathen Writers, who have been more consonant to sound Divinity in this Tenet than Puritan or Jesuit, or our new Sectaries. They never imagined *Majesty* to be of so low a Birth as to be begotten of any thing below ; see *Ovid. Fast. lib. 5.* *Homer* calls all Kings *διοτρεφεῖς*. *Jupiter* is little enough in his conceit to be their Nurse-father. *Plautus* termeth all Kings *Humanos Joves*. *Plutarch* not unlike *Saint Paul* in this, calleth the King, *υπηρέτης τῷ θεῷ* not *τῷ λαῷ*, the Minister of God, not the Servant of the People. Elsewhere he is called *εἰκὼν ἐμψυχὸς τῷ θεῷ*, the living Image of God upon Earth ; the image of his Power, his Wisdom, his Sovereignty ; *Dio lib. 33.* of a King speaketh thus ; *αὐτοτελὲς ὄντως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῶν νόμων ; πάντατε οἷα βέλαιο ποιῇ καὶ πανθ' ὅσα μὴ βέλαιο μὴ πράτῃ.* *Dio* knew no subordination to any or many, he did think a King was *αὐτοτελὲς, αὐτοκράτωρ* : and that over himself, and all, and controulable by no Law ; that he was not to be called to an account by men.

Because I value not these Testimonies at that rate, as to sway the Judgment, where better Proofs are not from Holy Scripture and Church, leaving them, and having sufficiently, by Authority Sacred and Ecclesiastical, proved our Conclusion, and overthrown the Principle of Jesuit and Puritan, I come to

to see whether Reason pleadeth more for them or for us.

C H A P. VII.

That the Government of mankind is established by God, and is necessary de Jure Naturæ, is proved by Reason, against those that hold, that all Government is Arbitrary, of the voluntary constitution and composition of men.

THE Jesuit doth willingly acknowledge, that Government, *in thesi, in genere*, in its abstract and generical conception is *de jure Divino, de jure Naturæ*, is by God's establishment, and by the necessary and uncontrollable dictate of Nature, howsoever it is as true, that they hold *ἐν ὑποθήσει, in specie*, that the specification of the Government, or restraint to Monarchy, Aristocracie, Democracie, or a mixed Government of these, if it be imaginable or possible, is *κατὰ συνθήκην*, by humane constitution. Some in these distempered Times have gone a little more wide in Errour than the Jesuit, averring that a difference of Superiour and Inferiour is an Herauldry unknown to Nature and the Gospel, solely and simply introduced by the constitution and composition of man. We will therefore by God's Grace prove, that Government is *de jure Naturæ*, necessary by God's established Ordinance; in debate of which, we are confident it will appear, that Sovereign Authority, whether it be
fixed

fixed in one, as in Monarchy ; or some few of the better sort, as in Aristocracy ; or in many, as in Democracy ; is derived from God immediately, and referreth to him as its proper efficient and constituent.

That God is the Author of all Government amongst his Creatures, and especially of the Government of mankind, appeareth by reason. 1. The same who is the Author of all Creatures in their Being and Existence, must be the Author of their Subsistence and Preservation in that Being and Existence. It is an infallible Maxim in the Schools, in Nature, in Scripture ; *Qui dat esse, dat & conservare* : He that giveth Being is the same that preserveth the Being. Creation is begun Conservation, and Conservation is a continued Creation : we assume, Things made existent by Creation, cannot subsist and have continuance, but by Order, by Government ; from whence naturally it followeth, God must be the Author of this Order and Government, and consequently hath not left it arbitrary to man by composition and consent to do it. Authority strengtheneth this reason. Saint Augustine writing against *Faustus*, saith, *Æternâ lege juberi, ut ordo naturalis conservetur* ; It is not arbitrary (in St. *Austin's* mind) to man whether Government or not ; for what is *κατὰ συνθήκην*, by Humane Constitution, if we will believe the Prince of Philosophers, is arbitrary ; but in his judgment *jubetur*, it is *jussum*, a commanded, a necessary thing ; and that *æternâ lege*, by an inevitable irrevocable Ordinance, which nothing temporary can make void. But what is this I pray you ? the holy Father telleth you, *Ut ordo naturalis conservetur*, that the Order God in nature hath established be preserved and conserved. If this come
not

not home enough, take it with a full Commentary from *Anselme*, who lived long after him, and in whose days this *Tenet* lived in Vigor: upon 1 Cor. 15. he saith, *Omnibus notum sit nullum principum, nullamque potestatem & virtutem, sive cælestium, sive terrestrium, per se habuisse aliquid principatus, vel potestatis, aut virtutis, sed ab illo à quo sunt omnia, non solum ut sint, sed etiam ut ordinata sint*: Be it known to all men, saith the holy man, that none invested with Sovereignty, Dominion, or Power, hath either Principality, or Dominion, or Power by himself, but solely from him by whom they have not only their Being in Nature, but also to be so order'd for their better Being and Preservation by Order. If Saint *Austin*'s first Passage above cited be not clear enough, full enough, hear him speak for himself, *Lib. 3. Confess. cap. 8. Generale pactum est societatis humane obedire regibus suis*: It is a natural, a general, a universal Compact, Covenant of humane Society to obey their Kings. In the Fathers Dialect, *Generale pactum* is the dictate of Nature, and he that disclaimeth *Jus nature*, the dictate of Nature, to be *Jus divinum*, the Law and Ordinance of God, hath made a Divorce betwixt himself, and Nature, and Reason, and sound Divinity. It is observable, that he saith this *Generale pactum*, this Ordinance of Nature is *obedire Regibus suis*, to obey their Kings: I beg the Favour that our Sectaries will shew as much for *Aristocracy* or *Democracy*, or any other imaginable Spece of Government.

The Strength of this Argument is more seen, if you consider this; If God Almighty be not as much the Author of the order of the Government of mankind, as he is the Creator of man and mankind; then Almighty God hath not perfected his good Work entire-

ly to, or towards man and mankind, and hath left man in a worse Condition than all other his Creatures in the *Universe* besides. The Consequence is necessary; for it was not sufficient nor conformable to the Wisdom and Goodness of God to make man the little World, the Abridgment of the Perfections of all Creatures, except he provided by his Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, how he should be continued and preserved in Being and Happiness: but this without Order and Government is neither imaginable, nor really possible. These two are indivisibly, inseparably given to God in Scripture. He is ποιῶν πάντα, and φέρων πάντα τὰ πρῆματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ; the Creator of all things, and Upholder of all things: Heb. 1. 2, 3. As all things are ἐξ αὐτοῦ, of him, so all things are δι' αὐτοῦ, by him: Rom. 11. vers. ult. Gen. 2. 1. Thus the Heaven and the Earth were perfected, and all the host of them. Perfecti sunt cæli & terra, & omnes exercitus eorum, saith the old Interpreter. This, that all the Creatures were very good, Gen. 1. 31. and that all were perfected, Gen. 2. 1. importeth not only that all in the Bounty of God were created in their specific and individual Natures good in themselves, but also that by the Decree and Ordinance of God were established to continue and to be preserved thus. But no Subsistence, no Continuance without Order and Government, reason, Sense, Experience, evidence it, confirm it. Nor is Authority wanting; Greg. Nazianzen Orat. de moderat. in disput. serv. saith, τάξις μήτηρ καὶ ἀσφάλεια τῶν ὄντων, Order, Government, is the Mother, the Nuric, the Establisher of all things; Saint Paul, Philip 2. 5. intimateth, that without order the Stedfastness of Faith cannot be; He rejoiced to behold their order, and

the Steadfastness of Faith. First, order; then Steadfastness of Faith; without order, then no Steadfastness in Faith, and consequently no Faith. To return to our point, that the Establishment of Order and Government is no less the immediate Work of God than the Creation of all. See *Psal. 148.* where the *Psalmist* exhorting or exciting all the Creatures to serve God, giveth the Reason, *vers. 6, 7. For he commanded and they were created.* He hath also established them for ever, *He hath made a Decree that shall not pass.*

Do we not see all the Creatures established in a Subordination one to another? See we not in the lifeless and senseless Creatures that the inferior giveth a Tacite Reverence, and silent Obedience to the Superior? See we not upon the other part, that the superior Creature hath a powerful and effectual Influence upon the inferior to its Good and Being, without which it could neither subsist, nor act what is fitting and convenient to its Nature? In this Subordination, do we not see that from the lowest we ascend to a Superior, from one Superior to another, till at last we come to *One Supreme*, which receiveth nothing to better it from any inferior at all, but only due Reverence and Obedience, and notwithstanding hath a *powerful and benign* Influence upon all beneath it? From whence, I pray you, is this, but from the sacred and inviolable God of Nature? The impartial may judge how much this pleadeth for the Excellency of Monarchy; and how like it is to that Order God hath established in the *Universe.* Look up to Heaven, consider those blessed and happy Angels in the Heavens; is there not there this established Order, with this Subordination, and probably is consummated at last in an excellent one, superminient to all? For this I will not contentiously

contend, Order and Superiority with Inferiority, I am confident no intelligent moderate Divine will deny. How can it then be conceived, that God hath left it to the simple Consent and Composition of man, to make and establish a herauldry of *Sub* and *Supra*, of one above another, which neither Nature nor the Gospel doth warrant? To leave it thus arbitrary, that upon this presupposed Principle, mankind may be without Government at all; which Paradox cannot be maintained, seeing without Order (which naturally and intrinsically includeth in it a Priority and Posteriority, a Superiority and Inferiority, a *Sub* and *Supra*) neither *Being* nor *happy Being* can be preserved; which Happiness is more requisite for man, by that he is a rational Creature, and more necessary for us here, than for the intellectual Spirits of Angels in Heaven, who have the Presence and Direction of Almighty God, in whose Presence they stand, and whose Commands they expect and perform.

Nor is it probable to my poor thinking, that when God Almighty in the Government of all things under the Cope of Heaven, (I mean bodily) hath made the Superiour to have by his established Ordinance a native inherent Superiority, with a powerful and benign Influence upon its inferiour, which is no ways derived from the Inferiour by Communication, in what proportion it will, and returnable upon such Exigents as the inferiour listeth, hath left to the multitude the Community, the Collective, the representative or virtual Body, to derive from it self, and communicate Sovereignty, whether in one, or few, or more in that measure and Proportion pleaseth them, which they may resume at Pleasure, at least in such exigent Cases, which sometimes really may be, but often are fancied to be

such : because upon these Grounds presupposed, Reverence and Obedience cannot but be uncertain, and the Sovereign disabled from giving and Communicating that Influence which is necessary for the Preservation of all and every Inferiour.

I humbly entreat those who are contrary minded, to consider seriously, how Almighty God in the Creation of man, before the Woman was made of him, and for him, and before he had any Child or Subject to govern, fixed Authority and Power for Government in the person of *Adam*. This to aver, that Government was fixed in a Governour before he had over whom he was to bear rule, is no Paradox in Philosophy, (if I pleased to insist philosophically to clear it) nor a more strange thing to consider, than when a *Posthumus*, one born after the death of his Father, by right inheriteth his Fathers Honour and Revenues. Is it not very considerable that God did not make *Eva* of the Earth as he did *Adam*, but made her of the man; and declareth too, made her for man? It is more than probable then, God in his Wisdom did not think it fit (that he was able to do it I hope none dare to deny) to make *two independents*, and liked best of all Governments of Mankind, *The Sovereignty of one*, and that with that Extent, that both Wife and Posterity should submit and subject themselves to him. If *Adam* had not fallen, Divines doubt not but Government had been. Government without Subordination is not conceivable, nor Subordination without the real Relations of Superiority and Inferiority. It is not to be controverted, if *Adam* had never fallen, Aristocracy or Democracy, or mixed Government had never been existent or apparent in the world. What spece of Government had been then, I pray you tell me it? *Et eris mihi*

mag-

magnus Apollo; If then in *statu instituto*, in the State of Innocency and Perfection God Almighty did establish Government, and fix it in *Adam* before his wife was created, or a subject born, is it not by this evident that God judged it in his Wisdom, better that neither Woman nor Posterity should be, than that one should not be to rule all? The Argument concludes *à minori ad majus*, from the less to the more; if it was necessary in the state of innocency to establish it thus by Gods own Decree, how much more in *statu peccati*, in our decayed and corrupted state by Sin? And yet more to assure us, that this Sovereignty was not personally fixed in *Adam*, nor that it was lost by *Adam's* Fall, or that the state of Sin requireth as more convenient for it, another spece of Government by more than one; after the Fall it is declared transmissible from *Adam* to the first-born, *Gen. 4. Sub te erit appetitus ejus, & dominaberis ei.* Let any man judge then whether or not with reason it can be said, that this establishment of *Sub* and *Supra*, Subject and Sovereign, be the onely constitution of man. And withal by the way, let any indifferent man judge what may be said for Monarchy, its excellency and conveniency above other species of Government; of which anon, *Quest. 2.* Yet for all this let none misconstrue me, as though I condemn Aristocracy and Democracy as unlawful Governments. I am certainly assured, that when the Apostle said, *The Powers that be are ordained of God, Rom. 13. 2.* and the emphasis, the force of the word *statum*, which is *authoritative*, (as we told before) he recalleth us to the first order and establishment of Almighty God mentioned in Scripture. And by this we may be led on to consider how *Monarchia fundatur in paterno jure*, how Monarchy is founded in paternal Sovereignty; and the best way to find out *jura*

Majestatis, the Sovereign's Prerogative, is to consider well what in Scripture, what in Nature, we find to be the true and natural right of a Father; onely probably, because of mans corruption and untowardness by reason of Sin, it is like God hath allowed more to Sovereign Power to enable and secure it.

Again, To enlarge our selves a little more to clear this Point, seeing it is possible, nay, not onely possibly, but actually it hath fallen out so, that because of mens sins, and by Gods Judgments following Sin, a multitude may be divided from their natural Sovereign, be dispersed by a War, a Persecution, or some other necessity imaginable, and yet meet in a strange Land, or some Territory not inhabited; this case presupposed, I demand, Whether or not this *Populus inconditus* would not condescend presently and necessarily to some Sovereign Power to govern and protect them? who can deny it? Again, if all these were descended from one, or sprung up from one root, and their common Father were with them, would Nature, Equity and Humanity necessitate them to submit to him; and that from him it should be hereditarily transmitted to his first-born, and so forward? who doubteth of this? Well: I change the case, take them not onely as *inconditus populus*, a disordered People, (which is conceivable where a Head is) but as *ἀνέπαρος*, without one common Ruler; that is, when they are a *farrago Nationum*, and *diversarum familiarum*, a confused mixture of more Nations, more Families, when they have not one common Father. If they condescend that one shall have Sovereign Power over all, and so by consent shall be surrogated in the place of the common Father, and that this Sovereignty shall be transmitted to his eldest Son, and so forth. From whence is this Power? Necessity for-

ceth them to a Government, (without it they can have neither Society, nor Safety, nor Peace, nor Happiness) but all their part is onely to design or declare the man, which is onely *potestas designativa*, *potestas deputativa*, but the Power is onely from Almighty God the *potestas collativa*, the Authority, the Sovereignty is of God, from God, God's. The reason is evident, the Substitute must have it by the same hand, by the same means he had it, in whose place he was substituted. By what is said he cometh in the place of a common Father, and the Father's right is immediately from God, and of God. I am ashamed to resume again that the Apostle saith, *ὑπερέχουσα ἐξουσία*, the eminent Powers that be, are *τάξις, διατάγη τῷ θεῷ*, the Ordinances, the authoritative Establishments of God, no less than the Authority of a Father above his Son, or of a Wife above her Husband, is of God, and from God immediately, and do not refer to the Wife or Children, as their immediate Donor and Author. God hath spoken once, twice have I heard it, that Power belongeth to the Lord: Psal. 62. 11. If you love to hear St. Chrysostom speak, read his words in a proper place upon Rom. 13. where he saith, *Ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ὁμότιμον μέτρον πολλὰκις εἰσάγει, πολλὰκις ἐπαίησεν τοὺς ἀρχαίς καὶ τοὺς ὑποταχάς, ὡς ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ, ὡς παιδὶ καὶ πατρὶ, ὡς πρεσβύτῃ καὶ νέῃ, καὶ δούλῳ καὶ ἐλεύθερῳ, ὡς ἀρχιερεὶ καὶ ἀρχιερέω, &c. καὶ τὴν διαμαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅπως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σῶματι τὸ αὐτὸ πεποιήκειν; εἶδε ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῦτα ὁμότιμα πάντα ἐργασάτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐλαττοῦν τὸ ὁ κρείττον κατεσκέδασεν, καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀρχεῖν τῷ μελῶν τὰ ὁ ἀρχεῖν, ἐπαίησεν. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ὁ τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ αὐτὸ ἴδοι τις ἂν, ὡς ἐν τῇ γαστρί, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀνθρώποις*

λας τῶν ἀγγέλων προβάτων. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ θαλάσση ταύτης ἐτέρηται τῆς ὀυταξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλὰ τῶν γυνῶν ὑφ' ἐνὶ τάττεται καὶ στρατηγεῖται, καὶ ὕτω μακρὰς ἀποδημίας ἀποδημαῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀναρχία πανταχῶ κακὴν καὶ συγχύσιον αἰτοῖ. The sum and sense of all is this : Because paritie in Honour and Power always worketh War and Contention, God to prevent this Mischief, hath ordained many kinds of Powers, and as many kinds of Subjections, as the man to have Power over his Wife, a Father to have Power over the Son, a King to rule, and Subjects to obey : And this is not only apparent amongst men, but also in the very body of every man, where some members are superiour to other in Worth and Power, to command the Inferiour : This established Order hath place amongst irrational Creatures ; as Bees and Cranes do follow one, Flocks and Herds do the same. In the Sea this is to be seen, where many Fishes do follow one as King, war with him against others, and go following him to places far distant from home. Anarchy, the want of Order and Government, is altogether and always evil, the Mother and Cause of all Confusion and Mischief.

The Result of all is, Government is necessary, as for the Subsistence of all Creatures, so especially for the good and comfortable Society of men. This is not left arbitrary to men, but is by the inviolable Ordinance of God established. Now if it fall forth so, that a multitude disordered, dispersed by any unavoidable Necessity, be without Government, nature overruled by Gods inviolable Ordinance forceth them to submit and subject to some to govern them, and to have Sovereignty over them, whether they resolve upon one, upon some few, or many : The Designation of the person, or persons, is from this disordered rout, but it is
 God

God who investeth them with the Sovereign Power.

We clear it thus: as, *Posito generationis fundamento*, when a Father begetteth a Child, *consequitur ex ordinatione divina & institutione, vel naturali, vel morali subiectio filii ad patrem*; it is necessary by the inevitable Ordinance of Almighty God, that the Son begotten be subject to the Father: So it is by moral divine Institution, that when any People have deputed and designed the Person or Persons of the Government, or Governours; the Collation and Donation of this Power and Sovereignty is from God *effective*, effectually; and from the Community but *consecutive*, because *consequitur ad electionem populi, ex divina & ordinatione & collatione*, it followeth and is inseparably conjoynd by God and his Appointment. Take the like; A woman marriageable in her own Power maketh choice of a man to be her Husband, her Choice and Consent giveth not to him marital Power, but this Right and Prerogative of the Husband is from Almighty God; for who dare say that in the woman is primarily and radically marital Power?

Consider yet a little more; the King elected to be a Sovereign to such a headless, a disordered Multitude as we presuppose, is surrogated in the place of a common Father to the whole Community over which he is to bear rule. The Scripture expresseth him so, *Exod. 20. Command. 5. Honora patrem, Honour thy Father.* The Heathen conceived it so; See *Aristotel. Ethic. lib. 8. c. 10. and Polit. lib. 1. c. 2. Homer. Odys. 1.* from which two Consequents unavoidable are deduced. 1. First, as the natural Father (suppose that Adam were living, had he not just Title to the Monarchy of the World?) receiveth not any *paternal Right, Power, or Authority*, from his Posterity, or those are come of his Loyns; but hath this from God
and

and the Ordinance of Nature, which is *ius divinum* (as we have said) no more can the Father surrogated in the place and power of the natural Father be said to receive his Right, his Power, his Sovereignty from the Community. 2. The second Consequent and Consequence is, that according to the maxim of the Law, *Surrogatus gaudet privilegiis ejus cui surrogatur*; and *Qui succedit in locum succedit in ius*, the Person surrogated hath all the Power, the Privilege, the Person had Right to, in whose place he is surrogated. When a man hath no Son by Nature or Issue of his own, a Son adopted is entituled to all the Right, Power, Revenue, was transmissible to a Son begotten of his own Body. A base born Son legitimated, is invested with all the Right, Title, Honour, Inheritance, was due to a lawful begotten Son. The reason is evident is pregnant, both the one and the other, the adopted Son, and the base Son legitimated are surrogated into the place of the lawful and natural begotten Son. Why then, I pray you, shall not, should not the surrogated Father by Election enjoy the Privileges and Rights of the Father natural? Methinks more, for the warrant of the two latter cannot be raised to any higher Constitution than humane Appointment, but the other of the surrogated Father floweth and followeth the inviolable and unrepealable Ordinance of Almighty God. For my part a King designed in such case, ought, should enjoy his paternal Right, no less than *Melchisedeck* or *Abraham*. I am the more powerfully inclined to this Opinion; that I see in holy Writ, that it pleased God in his Wisdom and Justice to transfer the Right of the first born, to the younger, the surrogated was not one whit lessened in his Prerogative and Power, but had fully entirely what was due

to the first born, in whose place he was surrogated. Consider this in *Judah*, when *Reuben's* Right of Primogeniture was forfeited, and he with his Posterity invested with it, and surrogated in his place. See, read and consider the Royal Prerogatives by the Spirit of Prophecy bestowed upon *Judah*, *Gen. 49.* of which by Gods Grace more largely, *Quest. 4.* The like may be seen in *David*, whom God preferred to *Eliab* his elder Brother.

It is a ruled case in Law, *Modus acquirendi non tollit jus possidendi*; the way by which we come to have *jus questum* (as Jurists term it) the Right to any thing, (provided it be lawful, otherwise that Maxim is of undoubted Truth, *Quod ab initio non valuit progressu temporis convalescere non potest*, long Possession cannot secure an unjust Title; it is not my purpose now to enter upon *Usucapio*, or *Jus proscriptiois*) is not prejudiced by the way by which we obtain it. *Jacob* had no less Right to the Birth-right, having it by a just Title, than *Esau*. The Jurists give the reason of this, *Quomocumque res est acquisita, possessio est de jure gentium*, if a man come at any thing by a legal Title, by the Law of Nations, that is, by the Law of common Equity, the Possession or Apprehension is entire and valid. Now apply all this, when a People disordered are without Government, and destitute of a Governour, to whom by a Title and Right of Nature it is due, condescend to design or chuse one for their Ruler, why shall he not, should he not enjoy, inherit the Right of the deficient Proprietor? and seeing the Right Proprietor had this Right by God, by Nature; how can it be, but howsoever the Designation of the Person is from the disordered Community, yet the Collation of the Power is from God immediately,

ately, and from his sacred and inviolable Ordinance? And what can be said against *modus acquirendi*, the way by which such a one elected obtaineth this right? for seeing God doth not now send *Samuels* or *Elishas* to anoint or declare Kings, we are in his ordinary Providence to conceive the Designation or Election of the Person, is the manifestation of God's Will, *voluntas signi*, as the School speaketh; just so, as when the Church designeth one to sacred Orders.

In few words take all with you. God who made all things is the Author of Order, by which all things are preserved; without Order there can be no Being, but all must either turn to Annihilation, or to a confused Chaos. God in Scripture is no less the God of Order than the Creator of all things. In Heaven amongst the Angels we see it established. Amongst all Creatures betwixt the cope of Heaven and the center of the Earth it is, a sweet subordination, a sweet harmony is seen; the Inferiour giving a tacite reverence, a due obedience to its Superiour, the Superiour having an over-ruling Power, with a benign influence upon all Inferiours to it. Can we then dream to our selves, that God did leave man without this mean of subsistence, that it was Arbitrary to him to appoint and specify either no Government at all, or what kind or specie of Government he pleased? *Plato* in his Republick can tell such a man, that he that can think he may subsist without a Governour, must either be God, or something worse than nothing. Hath God provided so for all Creatures in Heaven and Earth, that he hath established a Government amongst all, and that conform to every one's nature, and hath he left man, in some respects the most excellent and perfect of all
Crea-

Creatures, the *Abridgment of the whole World, the Microcosme*, without this established order? Do we not see that before the Woman came into the World, or a Child was born, God fixed Government in the person of *Adam*? Did he not secure it, that it should be transmitted to the first born, that Government amongst mortal men should be immortal? and seeing Sin with much more Misery and Mischief hath brought into the World, that men should sometimes be driven from their natural and proper *Father, King and Sovereign*, that for their Subsistence in Happiness and plenty, and Protection from Evil and Mischief, they are forced to chuse one or more, and to *surrogate him or them in his place*, to whom by God and Nature it was due to bear rule over them; that he or they coming in the place and power of the natural Father or King, have his or their Sovereignty, not by a voluntary Consent, but by a necessary act; and that the Power is not by Derivation from the Community, but by immediate Donation from Almighty God.

CHAP. VIII.

That Sovereignty is not by Derivation from the Community, is proved by more Reasons.

IF there were no more to disprove this popular Tenet, *That Sovereignty in a King is by Derivation from the Community*, this is more than enough, that it is built upon a false Ground, for it presupposeth and taketh as granted, that in the Community, whether collective

teditive of all Individuals, or virtual and representative by some in place of all, there is inherent a *Potestas activa reactiva*, a ruling active Power, which is most false. If we will trust Philosophy, *Natura nulli dat virtutem sine actu: & cuius est potentia ejus est actus*. Aristot. de form. & vigil. *Potentia sine actu otiosa est & inutilis*. And the Light of Nature teacheth, that *Deus & natura nihil faciunt frustra*: God and Nature hath not bestowed upon any thing in the Universe, a Power which is idle and to no purpose, as certainly that Power must be, which is never actuated. But now this Power of actual ruling was never acted by the Community, it was never seen nor exercised by them. The collective or dissolutive body comprehends within its Verge, all and every individual. Now how is it imaginable, that in all the People in gross, in common, this *Potestas activa regiminis*, or *Potestas activa regiminis*, this power of actuating Government is seated as in its prime, principal, and most proper Seat and Subject? Government intrinsically, essentially, includes in it a *specifick Distinction* of *regentes* and *reçti*, some to be Governours, and some to be governed. If all and every one hath this Power above-mentioned, where then are those that are to be ruled and governed?

If they would speak rationally, there can no other Power be conceived to be inherent in the Community naturally and properly, but only *potestas passiva regiminis*, a Capacity or Susceptibility to be governed by one or by more. This Capacity in the Community is attended with an *appetitus naturalis*, and *necessarius ad regimen*, a natural, necessary, and vehement Inclination and Desire to submit to Government, by which it is to be stated into an happier and safer Posture and Condition. Just so, as *Materia prima & vaga appetit for-*

man qua actuator & perfectus; as the first matter (of which natural Philosophy speaketh) hath a Desire to be united to some Form, by which receiving a particular Determination to a specifick and individual Entity it is actuated and perfected: or as *Debitio semper appetit naturaliter secundum nobilitatem quo perfectus*. This Capacity in the Community, being natural and common to all, and having from it issuing out a vehement desire to actual Government, obliges all *Ex vi naturae subesse imperio*, by the Law and Dictate of Nature to submit to actual Government; which Desire or Propension, if you reflect upon it, *praevalens a communi*, as it is in every individual and particular Person of this Body, is not merely and properly *voluntary*: because, howsoever Nature dictates, that Obedience is necessary, for the maintenance of the Society, for Happiness, for Safety and Protection; yet every singular and individual person, by Corruption and self-love hath *naturaliter repugnantiam*, a natural Aversion and Repugnancy to submit to any. *Singuli: regnum in pedere gerimus*; the lowest Bramble willingly will not submit to the tallest Cedar: for this Cause Saint Hierom saith, *Rex nolentibus praest*. It is despair to attain at Government that makes the greatest and most part to submit to Government; and that they see and feel, that without Government howe cast misery Society or Safety, this forceth that natural Repugnancy, which is severally and singularly in every one to give way to that universal, natural, and necessary Propension of Nature to Government.

This *appetit universalis* and *naturalis* this vehement necessary Propension and desire to Government is not unlike to that use of the understanding by which it assenteth to the first Principles of undeniable, of uncontroll-

controulable Truth, which are evident *ex vi terminorum*, by evident Appearance in the essential Connexion of the Terms; or is not unlike to that first act of mans Will by which necessarily *fertur in summum bonum*, it is carried to it's chief good: both of these in sound Philosophy, are not *actus liberi*, free acts of the Understanding and Will, but *necessarii*, such as cannot otherwise be: just so this Consent and Submission to Government, which is the brood of that natural Propension to Government, for the Reasons above specified, is not *liber*, not so free, as it may chuse or reject, but in some kind it is *necessarius*, elicited by Force, Constraint or Necessity, that all and every one are necessitated to it by that Necessity of Obedience Nature hath layed upon them: from what is said rationally and by necessary Consequence it followeth that this Consent in the Community, and every individual is not *purè actus*, purely and simply active, but hath more Alliance with a *consensus passivus*, a necessary necessitated Consent: from this then it is more than apparent, that by that our *new Statists* call the voluntary Consent of the People, nothing is bestowed upon him or them in whom the Sovereignty is fixed; nor can the Community be a Donor of any Right or Power but in Submission and Subjection. It will puzzle infinitely our New-state-Philosophy to make any thing in it's kind passive really active, and collative of positive Acts and Effects: except that as they have changed Faith, so they will overturn true Reason: from hence it will follow necessarily, that by Government established, the People and Community are stated in a more perfect, a more happy Condition. Solomon knew it well, Prov. 11. 14. *Ubi non est gubernator populus corrumpit*, where there is no Governour the people perish.

perisheth. It is not once but often repeated in the Book of the Judges, when Idolatry, Rapine and Rapt abounded, *In diebus illis non erit Rex in Israele*, in those dayes there was no King in Israel. Saint Paul homologates this Doctrine, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. intimating that there can neither Peace nor quiet, godliness nor honesty be where Kings are not. This natural propension, necessitated by these considerations, over-ruleth and overcometh the natural repugnancy that is in every individual, in every singular one. Again, this being the Dictate of Nature, it cannot but refer to God, as to its immediate Author, for God is the Author of Nature.

Nature hath taught natural men this truth, more shame it is for us, who would be thought Christians, to be ignorant of it, or to oppose it. Aristotle saith, lib. 1. Polit. c. 1. & 2. that Man is by Nature ζῷον πολιτικόν, made and ordained for Society. Plato in his fancied Republick telleth us, that he must be God and not man, that can imagine to have that All-sufficiency to live without Society, and Society without Government is not conceivable, is not imaginable. The same Aristotle saith, that *Civitas est de natura*; that Government is not Arbitrary, but necessary, by the over-ruling command of Nature.

In brief, the result of all this Argument is, that Power to rule or act the Sovereign, is not naturally inherent in the Community, the collective or diffusive Body; all the People have is a capacity to be governed, with a vehement desire to be stated in a condition of Peace and Safety, which cannot be effected without an union with an actual Government in some, to which the Community submitteth and subjecteth passively more than actively, every individual having within him by in-

bred corruption an *actual* repugnancy to submit to any, is necessitated to admit of Government by force of that natural inclination to preserve himself in Peace, Plenty, and Safety; this being most true in it self, and verified by the experience and inward testimony of every one who hath not shaken off natural reason; How can it be made appear that *this Sovereignty, this actual Power to rule*, is derived, transferred from the Community all *collectively* considered, or every one *diffusively* considered, or from a *representative body*, Feoffees of trust from them? A Countrey Clown can tell you, *Nemo potest dare quod non habet*; It is impossible to give to another that we have not our selves; and Jurists do tell us, *Nemo potest transferre in alium quod non habet in se*.

What may be judged of their Extravagancies by what is said, is more than apparent. How dare they be so impertinent, so impudent to say, that *in the People there is an underived Majesty*? It is right down contradictory to Scripture, *Dan. 2. 37. & 5. 18.* It is said, *God giveth Kingdom, Power, Strength, Glory and Majesty*. More absurd is that, that they with brazen-face affirm, this Majesty in a King is derived onely *cumulative, communicative*, so that the People are not divested of it, but that *in certis casibus*, in some cases (which if they be not real, People shall fantasie them at pleasure) this same Sovereignty and Majesty is resumable. An old Philosopher would laugh at him who would presume to say, that a matter passive actuated and perfected by Union with a Form, could at pleasure shake off that specifick and individual Form, and marry it self to another: they may with as good reason say, that a Husband hath Marital Power from his Wife, and to gratifie that Sex, with which they are
very

very prevalent, they may endow every Wife with that Power to resume her Freedom, and to marry to another at pleasure.

A third reason against this Paradox in State and Divinity is this, there is no warrant in Scripture, nor doth Nature teach, that God hath fixed all Government, Sovereignty and Majesty, in the Community, as in its prime and proper subject. The fittest opportunity to evidence this Right and Prerogative of the People, was certainly when Saul was anointed and appointed the first King of Israel. Till this time God did retain the Government in his own hands, and actuated it by the hands of Moses, Joshua, &c. as his Viceroyes and Deputies: the Text of Scripture is plain in this, 1 Sam. 8. 7. God saith to Samuel, They have not rejected thee but me. Again, 1 Sam. 10. 18. Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I brought Israel out of Egypt, and delivered them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and of them that oppressed you. Verse 19. And you have this day rejected your God, who himself saved you out of your adversities and tribulations; and ye have said unto him, nay, but set a King over us. Again, 1 Sam. 12. 12. And when you saw that Nabal the King of the Children of Ammon came against you, ye said unto me, nay, but a King shall reign over us; when the Lord your God was your King. To these passages joyn Gideon's words, Judges 8. 23. When they offered the Kingdom hereditary to him and his Posterity, he replied, I will not rule over you, neither shall my Son rule over you. The Lord shall rule over you. These places prove clearly a singular God's ruling of this People by his substituted Deputies. When this extraordinary way, and peculiar to this People only, was to cease, and a King to be established over them like to the Kings of other Nations, it was most opportune and high time to de-

clare this Native inherent right of the People, in whom is this National and fancied underived Majesty, and to leave them by their right to transfer their right upon him whom they judged most fitting and able to be King. But here *Ne mihi Lucilianum*, not one syllable for it, not the least insinuation: Nay, you have point blank the contrary, a virtual destructory of this imagined and conceited Right; as at large before we have expressed and cleared: for Scripture vindicateth to God, as proper and peculiar to himself, the Designation of the Person of *Saul*, and the collation and bestowing of Royal Sovereignty. It is worth your notice, that Scripture recordeth, that after he was designed and declared King, *The Spirit of God came upon him*: which without wronging the letter of the Text, may be interpreted of God's Grace enabling him for the charge. The very Heathen did acknowledge, that in Kings there was *Deus in*, something from above bestowed above the ordinary stream of Endowments incident to man, which how it may subsist with a derivation of all their Majesty and Power from the multitude, let them judge who have not made a Divorce betwixt themselves and sound Reason and Judgement.

By no means let us neglect to observe, that God when he designed *Saul* to be King, collated upon him Royalty, he left no other act to his People but to admit him, which was not left to their voluntary determination to admit or reject him at pleasure. Nor is that to be over-leap't, that God would not allow them by compact and contract to make their own conditions, to limit and enlarge their King at pleasure; but gave himself to the subject in Right, the Law of the King, to which the Subjects were to submit in

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the hardest case. He prescribed *Lex imperandi*, a Law and Rule to Kings to rule and reign by, *Deut. 17.* But at the admittance of *Saul*, he giveth *Ligei paren di*, the Subject a Law of Obedience and Patience, *1 Sam. 8.* which is so peremptory in the extremest acts of Tyranny and Oppression, that no other Remedy is left but Prayers and Tears, Patience, and crying to the Lord in the day of Trouble and Oppression. Of this by God's Grace more hereafter, *99. 3. 4. 5.*

A fourth Argument against this popular Error and Deceit is this: if all Sovereignty and Supreme Power were originally inherent in the People, and from thence derived to the King; then undoubtedly Democracies were the best of all Governments. The reason is pregnant, that space and kind of Government which cometh nearest to its original, must be sounder and more perfect; but Democracies, which is the Government of many, cometh nearer to the multitude than Aristocracies, where some few of the better sort, or than Monarchy, where one hath the Supremacy and Government. The nearer to the Fountain the Stream runneth more pure and clear. This Argument cannot well be taken off, and it is a strong Argument changing the terms in the assumption for Monarchy; it proveth the excellency of Monarchy above all Governments, because it approacheth nearest to the Government of God, and God himself who is the Author of all Government; as the Argument before is made, the Conclusion is most false; because, howsoever all Writers of Politicks in many things concerning Policy differ as much amongst themselves as Clocks, or our Secretaries, yet all unanimously accord and agree in this, that of all Govern-

ments Democracy and popular Government is the worst; and do prefer Aristocracie, id est by many stages; which likewise enforceth our Argument for the excellency of Monarchy; for the farther you recede from Monarchy, as in Democracy, the worse the Government is; and the nearer you approach to it, as in Aristocracy, the Government is the better. Some have a nearer approach to one than many, and many are at a greater distance with one than some few; which things duely considered and rightly pressed, will bring home the Conclusion, that *Formalis & completa gubernandi ratio est in Monarchia*: the proper, specifick, formal, and complete essence of Government is in the Sovereignty of one. Review and consider all Politicians whom you will, they will grant, that *Suprema potestas est in indivisibili persona, Imperium autem et Sovereignty is an indivisible and undivided Entity*; How can you share it then amongst more or many? Nay, this forceth them to make Aristocracies, which is the Government of more than one, and Democracies, which is of many; that they must be considered as *analogia*, one by analogy, not univocally and properly; so judge then of the force of our Argument. For any reason I yet apprehend or can guess at; if Sovereignty were primitively fixed in a multitude, and from thence derived to any or many, I cannot judge but that Democracy is the onely specie of Government warranted by Divine Institution; and that all other kinds of Government are unlawful, and their Acts sinful; or if any should attempt to change Democracy into Monarchy, it were an high impiety: which things how they may be admitted, let our new State Divines consider and declare. Sure I am Saint Austin was of the opinion, that a corrupted De-

mocracie, without sin, might be changed into Monarchy; See him, *lib. 1. de liber. arbitr. c. 6.* where he saith, *Si depravatus populus rem privatam Reip. præferat atque habeat venale suffragium; corruptusque ab eis qui honores amant, regnum in se facilius confecturisque committat; nonne item rectè si quis tunc existerit vir bonus qui plurimum possit, adimat huic populo potestatem dandi honores, & in paucorum bonorum vel etiam unius redigat arbitrium?* *Enod. Et ita testis Saint Austin* and *Euodius* agree in this, that if they who bear Rule in Democracie do corrupt Justice, and put the Government into corrupt mens hands, and such as are factious, a good powerful man upon such an exigent, may mould the Government into an Aristocracie or Monarchy. Good Saint *Austin*, for all his Learning and Piety, knew not the Jesuit and Puritans ground; that all Sovereignty and Supremacy, all Majesty underived was in the multitude, and that in their Power it is to change the Government to what guise they will; he knew not that this was to rob the People of their native and proper Right, when one man should reduce Democracie, without the consent of the People, to Monarchy or Aristocracie; nor knew he that it was an unjust and Sacrilegious intrusion upon God's Right in the People to do it without their Act, their Consent, their Compact. To this you may add another Testimony of that Father, which virtually implieth the same, you may read it, *lib. 9. de Civ. Dei, c. 21.* where, speaking of the declination of the Government of Rome from the second Carthage War, and the restoring of Rome to her glory by *Augustus* coming to the Empire, he saith, *Hoc toto tempore usque ad Casarem Augustum, qui videtur non adhuc vel ipsorum opinione gloriosum, sed contenti-*

osum & exitiosum, & planè jam enervem ac languidam libertatem omnimodò extorsisse Romanis, & ad regale arbitrium revocasse cuncta, & quasi morbidà vetustate collapsum veluti instaurasse ac renovasse Rempublicam. The Passage is very considerable. The purpose of the Holy Father is to take off that foul aspersion which the Heathen put upon Christ and Christian Religion, that all mischief came into the World since they were heard of. He proveth by the Roman story, that greater mischief before was upon the Romans, and that from the second Carthaginian War the Roman Grandeur was in its declination and decaying, and at and about the coming of Christ in the World was restored again to its Magnificence and Splendour, by the happy Monarchy and Empire of Augustus Caesar: which happy change Saint Austin commends, he condemns it not: and so do the Heathen Writers: which the Father could never have done if he had been of the mind, that no man cometh rightly by Sovereignty but by derivation from the People. It is not onely Saint Austin's, but other holy Fathers observation, that God in his wise Providence disposed so of the Government of the World, as to put the best and greatest part of the World under the Monarchy of one, that thus he might facilitate the progress of the Gospel throughout the World. It is foretold in Scripture, that Kings shall be the Nurse-fathers of the Church, our Opposites cannot shew the like of Aristocracies and Democracies, nor this day do we see it, or in ancient storie find it recorded. It is most like, *Felicitas temporalis*, Happiness temporal, under Augustus, the sweetest of Emperours, came into the World, with *Felicitas eterna* and *spiritualis*, with eternal happiness, when our King and Saviour came into the World. Of this more, q. 2.

Our

Our fifth Argument to prove, that Sovereignty in a King is not from the Community or multitude, is this, If this Sovereignty be natively inherent in the Multitude, it must be proper to every individual of the Community; if it be so, and must be so according to their Tenet, which is enforced by that other as groundless and false State-maxim, which they hold and maintain, that *Quisque nascitur liber*, every one is born a Free-man in the Forrest; then it will necessarily follow, that the Generation and Posterity of those who have first contracted with their elected King, are not bound to that covenant, but upon their Native Right and Liberty may start aside, appoint another King, and that without breach of covenant, or any just Title in the King of their Fathers to force or reduce them to his obedience: an excellent way devised to preserve King and Kingdom in Peace and Safety. Might not the Posterity of *Joshua*, and the Elders living in his time, who contracted with the *Gibeonites* to incorporate them, although in a serving condition, have made void their Fore-fathers covenant? And if this be true, How cometh it to pass that the Progeny of *Jonadab* did hold themselves bound to keep the prescript and strict Rule of their Father? The *Rechabites*, it seemeth, had not learned this point of Native Liberty.

CHAP. IX.

That Sovereignty is not derived to the King from the People, communicativè, by Communication, so that they may resume it in some Cases, is proved by reason.

Although we would give to our Sectaries, (which we will never grant) that all Sovereignty in a King is derived from the people immediately; yet we deny, and with good reason, that it is not by Communication, so that they may at pleasure, or upon some necessary exigent in certain cases resume it, so that *habitually* they retain it, and are not *totally* divested of it; but in some case of Defaillance, *suppletivè* they may exercise it, and supply the Defects of Government in the King, *Erecting Tables, authorizing Parliaments, appointing close Committees, making and sealing, subscribing and swearing Covenants, &c.*

Their ground is, because all Sovereignty is by voluntary Consent and Compact derived from the People to the King. This we have sufficiently disproved: to strengthen this, they equivocate in a Maxim, *Constituens constituto potior est*, the constituent is above the constituted in Dignity and Power? If they knew any thing in Law, or were ruled by Reason, they could know that there be two sorts of Constitutions; 1. The one is, when *Constitutio ab initio est voluntatis, & ejus effectus perpetuò pendet à voluntate constituentis*; when the Constitution is voluntary at first flowing from the free

free elicitè act of the Will, and whose Effect and Force dependeth ever from the Liberty and free Will of the Constituent; as when a King maketh a Viceroy or Judge *durante beneplacito*, enduring Pleasure; or when a man maketh a Lega cy and leaveth so much to such a one after his death, he may make it void to morrow, if Death prevent him not, except he hath appended the last Codicil, as Lawyers speak; in such like things *Voluntas hominis est ambulatoria*, a man's Will is not denuded of it's Liberty to refile or change; the Will of man being, as Philosophers speak, *Dominæ sui actus*, Mistress and Queen of all her elicitè and commanded Acts. It is a ruled Case in Law, *Nulla obligatio consistere potest, quæ à voluntate promittentis statum accipit*: No Obligation can absolutely tye where all its Strength dependeth merely upon the free Will of him that promiseth. 2. The other Constitution is, *Quæ ab initio est voluntatis, postea verò effectum habet necessitatis*, which at the first is by the free Elect and commanded Act of the Will, but afterward is attended with an Effect of Necessity, that maketh it irrevocable, irrevocable: as when a man maketh over the Right of his proper Goods to another, this is at first a voluntary Action, but the Donor having denuded himself of *jus proprietatis*, of his entire Right, and the Donee hath *jus possessionis*, hath apprehended Possession, this act is firm and stable, whiether the way of making over be *titulo lucrativo*, or *titulo onerosa*, freely done by gift, or for money, and as good in Exchange, or any other way lawful, this act is no ways revocable, although it be made to the Disadvantage of the Donor. If any should attempt to resume this again, it were an Act against common Equity; Scripture pleadeth for this Truth, *Psal. 15. 4. He shall dwell*

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dwell in the Mountain of the Lord, *who sweareth to his hurt and changeth not.* Ananias and Sapphira might without Sin have kept their Goods which they consecrated to God and his Church, if they had not interposed the act of devoting or consecrating them; but this done, to detain but a part of it, (and it may be for some exigent case of Necessity they preconceived) it was high Sacrilege, and they payed dear for it.

Act. 5. There can be no civil Commerce, no Truth or Faith in dealing, in bargaining, if you open this back door, than when a man hath contracted, covenanted to his Disadvantage, he may resume it, and put himself *in statu quo.* If it were granted that Royalty in a King were by Contract betwixt him and his People, and resumable by the People upon the Appearance of Disadvantage, it cannot stand but in all inferior Contracts of less Concernment the like should hold.

Is there any act more freely done, than when a woman not subject to paternal Authority, of perfect Age, under no Guardian, maketh Choice of an Husband, and as she fancyeth? And I pray you, may she afterward shake him off at Pleasure? God forbid! By *Moses* Law, we know the Husband for Jealousie or Discontent might have given to his Wife a Bill of Divorcement; that the Woman had the like Power we read it not. In Gods case which most nearly concerneth himself in the case of Idolatry, the Husband was bound to dilate, accuse, and witness against his Wife; the Father against the Children; but there is no Charge to the Wife to accuse or witness against the Husband, or the Children against the Father; a clear Evidence how God Almighty would have the Inferiour in Reverence, Duty, and Obedience, to the superiour

wards the Superiour, that if Idolatry against God otherwise could not be made appear, God would have no Remonstrance this way. God chused rather to suffer in his own Cause, than that lawful Authority should be wronged: *Deut.* 13. The tye betwixt King and People, Prince and Subject is greater, is stricter than any betwixt man and Wife, Father and Son.

If our Adversaries will believe *Jurists*, they were of a contrary Opinion, and did not imagine, that the People transferring all their Right upon the Prince, did habitually or in any case retain it or any part of it, that in case of male administration, they might supply it, and in any Exigent resume it, or make over the Right to whom they would, over-lording their Prince, but that they were totally and irrevocably invested with all power conceivable to be in the People. Although this Opinion hath not the Truth of all the Kings Right in it divinely enough, yet is it a safer Opinion than that of late days hath been taken up and maintained. *Ulpian* a renowned Jurist, *L. 1. ad Sc. Tuis* saith, *Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem: utpotè cum lege Regia; quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei & in eum omne suum & imperium & potestatem conferat.* *Ulpian* knew no better, but that The legislative Power was in the Prince, and that because the King is entirely invested with all the Power and Empire was in the People. It is probable, he reflecteth upon the Democratical Government which was before the Empire, and so determineth, that what Sovereignty was in the Democracy, was with its full Extent as entirely and properly in the Prince. *Ulpian* reserveth no Power to the People, for he saith expressly, *Populus ei & in eum omne suum Imperium & potestatem confert;* which ground laid, it is absurd to say, that in any case

case, or upon any Exigent, the people or Community, diffusive, collective, or representative, can re-estate themselves into that Sovereignty, so entirely irreversibly made over. *Ex ore duum & trium*: Take another witness (for in Law, *Singularis testis nullus*) and a great one too; *Bartolus ad L. Hostes. 24. IF. de capt. & post.* saith, *Tertio modo indicitur bellum publicum, quando indicitur à populo Romano, vel ab Impensatore, in quem translata est omnis jurisdictio populi Romani.* Bartolus knew not any Power was reserved in any Case or Exigent to the People; and if you consider him well upon the place cited, the *Militia* and *Jura belli* belong to the Prince. To these two add *Seneca*, who knew no mixed government, but only three Species, Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy; *Epist. 4.* he writeth thus: *Interdum populus est quem timere debemus, interdum si ea civitatis disciplina est, ut plurima per Senatum transigantur, gratiosi in ea timentur viri; interdum singuli, quibus potestas populi & in populum data est.* *Seneca* who knew not Monarchy to be from God immediately, knew so much, that coming from the People, the King was so invested with the Power of the People, and Power over the People, that the People were totally divested of that Power, and in no case no exigent had any Power over or above the Prince.

If what is said be not sufficient, let us remember the Story of *Valentinian* the Emperour, when by the Army he was declared Emperour; they earnestly begged of him to joyn *Valens* his Brother with him in the Empire; His answer was, *at me ad imperandum eligetis in vestra situm erat potestate, O milites: at postquam me elegistis, quod petitis in mea est arbitrio, non vestro. Vobis tanquam subditis competi parere, mihi quae agenda sunt cogitare.* O Souldiers, before you did make choice of

of me to be Emperour, it was in your Power; but the Choice being made, that which you now desire is in my Power, not in yours. It is your part and Duty as Subjects to obey, it is in my Power to determine upon what is fit for the Government.

If all we have said cannot work upon our new Statists to forsake their Error, we pray them to consider, whether or not this ground laid, will not authorize the Corporations and Shires, upon male-administration of the Trust committed to their Commissioners in the House of Commons, or upon Jealousies and Fears, to resume and make void that Trust committed to them, and warrant them in case of Defaultance to do better for themselves and Country. Sure I am, Buchanan one of their greatest Authors holds, that if a Parliament determine in a matter of Law, it can establish nothing but a *propositum* a preparatory recognition, and that the Influence of a legislative Power is not, till it be approved and admitted by the Community. The Observator fearing this Tenet of Buchanan, may make void the Orders of the House, leaving here his Master, and averreth, *That the Right of the Gentry and Commonalty is entirely in the Knights and Burgeses of the House of Commons, and will have their Orders irrevocable.* A wonder it is that they are so favourable in their own case, and so unjust and unequal in the Kings case: for if it were granted, which is most false, that all Power in the King were by Trust devolved upon him from the People, what is the Reason of the Difference, that he shall not have, that Right as entirely, as irrevocable as the Commissioners of Counties and Corporations? Reason pleadeth more for this in the King than them, for otherwise neither Sovereignty nor the person of the Sovereign can be secured, nor any act of Government

ment certain, but mutable at the pleasure of an erring and inconstant Multitude. If any will seriously consider, they will find that what they take from the King they give to their Feoffees of Trust, to *Tables*, to *Parliaments*. These in case of Necessity have an arbitrary Power; the Prince in no case can have it, exercise it. Those have the entire right of the Community devolved upon them, and the people are totally divested of their native Right; the King hath his only in a fiduciary way, some part is habitually reserved, that in some Cases the People may resume it, may practise it. So in their Church it is not lawful to a Clergyman to meddle in secular Businesses; Their Clergy (if they be worthy of name) may, do meddle in all Treaties of Peace, Councils of War, in Commissions for reversing fundamental Laws of Church and State in other Kingdoms. This their practise is *Protestatio contra factum*, it giveth a Lye to their Profession. I think verily in after ages it shall scarce be believed that amongst Christians, and such as would be accounted the best of Christians, such Paradoxes could be maintained, and such monstrous Practises acted, with such sacrilegious robbing of Prince and Priest of their sacred Right. It is high time for Prince and Priest to strengthen one another, and neither of them to think that by making the other *a publici odii victima*, a Sacrifice to malignant Malice, to preserve himself. It is high time for the People to consider, how by such Doctrine and Practises they are plunged in such a bottomless Gulf of Miseries, of Calamities, that none but *dextera excelsi*, the right hand of the Lord can rescue, can deliver them: How an arbitrary, tyrannical, civil Power is put upon them, and established in the wrong hand, that they dare not pretend to Liberty of Person,

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or propriety of Goods : How such a Tyrannical Antichristian Hierarchy of some few Patriarchs, Lords over their Consciences, make them run into Rebellion, and kill both Body and Soul. If these things, these most fearful of all Judgments, cannot awake us, it is like we are given over to destruction, more for the Terrour and Example of others, than that we can expect to see the Glory and Mercy of God return again upon this Church and State. Lord of his mercy make us turn to him timely by Repentance, that he may turn to us in mercy, make his Face shine upon us, that we may be saved. To return to our purpose :

In fine, Let us still give it to them, that Sovereignty is in a King by Derivation from the People, and the Conveyance is by Contract or Covenant. But then I demand, how can this Contract be made void ? It must be made void *either by mutual consent, or by a legal Sentence and Judgment.* That a Contract may be made void *mutuo contrahentium assensu*, by a mutual accord and consent of the Parties Contractors in Law it holds ; the ground is, *Quibus modis contrahitur contractus iisdem dissolvitur*, and the main thing and binding force in a Contract is the consent of both. The refusing of one Party Contractor is not sufficient to void the Contract. Necessarily then it is required, that both King and People consent to make the Contract void : (whether a King may do this or not, you shall hear more in the following questions.) The People alone cannot do it. This contract as yet is not made void by Royal consent ; if it be, you must make it appear *authenticis Tabulis*, upon evident and written Records. I confess, e're I put you to these pains, I desire you first to produce *Tabulas contractus*, this

Contract, which in Law must be evident and faithful; and when you do it in any of his Majesties Kingdoms, you shall have me to plead for your pretended Right. Well then, I hope you will not say you have his Majesties Royal Assent; although good and wise men re-
 grate, that by real deeds out of zeal to Peace, and more than fatherly indulgence, he hath indulged to your Favours, which lessen his Prerogative, and which without intrusion upon his Sacred Right you cannot enjoy, if Scripture be either the Law or Umpire to determine in this case. Seeing, I say, His Majesties consent to void this Contract cannot be alledged, or made appear; (and the Law determines, that *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio*, or *Quod non apparet, in jure non est*) you must have a legal Sentence. A Legal Sentence cannot be had without a competent Judge. Who is this Judge? For my part I know none but Almighty God, the King of Kings. If you say, that the Judge is the diffusive Body, or the Collective, or the representative (which I see not how it can be conceived without the Head the King, yet at this time I yield it to you in your own notion) and virtual Body; I oppose, that cannot be; are they not all Subjects? Are they not all under his Protection? Have they not all sworn, or should swear, Allegiance and Supremacy? How then can they be imagined in any other capacity than of a Subject? How in any other notion, relation, or consideration, but as the other Party Contractor in this imaginary, notional, and fancied Contract? How can it with Law, with Justice, with Reason subsist, that you shall be in your own Cause, in your own Case, in a matter of so high a Concernment, Judge, Witness, and Party? The highest that any as yet have gone, is to fancy a coordinate Power with the Sovereignty of a King, which
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in effect is a very bull, and is as much as to say, *Supreme and not Supreme; Sovereign and not Sovereign; King and no King*. I deny not but that it may be proved, if that your Practice may interpret your Power, that you have run farther, and reach higher in your Sovereignty than any King, any Monarch in *Europe*, except you speak of the King of *Spain's* Power over all his Dominions without *Europe*. Never any of them claimed more but *paternum Imperium*, but with grief we see this new Doctrine hath erected *Despoticum & herile Imperium*. I say, the most you have claimed to your representative Body (and that maimed too) is a coordinate Power; which in Law, in Reason, runneth upon equal, upon coequal terms. Now in Law *Par in parem non habet Imperium*, an Equal cannot Lord or Judge over an Equal, much less an Inferiour may usurp it above a Superiour. Amongst many other reasons why our Lord, *Joh. 8.* would not sentence the Adulteress that was taken, *καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ*, this is not an unprobable one, that although he knew her guilty, as God, and as Man, *gratia visionis*, yet he would not act the Judge and Witness. *Omnis Christi actio nostra instructio*. Learn of him to be meek and humble, nay, just too; and challenge not to be Judges, Accusers, and Witnesses in your own cause: Imperial Law, and Ecclesiastical, both condemn it: nay, the very Light of Nature made *Africanus* disclaim to be against the Defendant, Judge, Accuser, and Witness. The Casuists, when they dispute and resolve the Case how a Judge shall proceed in Judgment, when to his private knowledge he knoweth contrary to that is like to be adduced, and the Judge tyed to determine *secundum allegata & probata*, that in such a case he may (if another competent Judge may be found) *exuere personam publicam, personam Judicis*, and

witness for Truth, that Justice be not prejudiced. Fie for shame, that *Jesuits, Romanists, and Casuists*, altho they hold many of our puritanical Principles, yet are not so impudent, as our *Puritans and Sectaries*.

To hasten to more Proofs of the Truth we maintain, give me leave to tell you, that I think, or fancy at least, that this Opinion that Sovereignty is seated in the Community, every individual having its share, which by Derivation from all and every one, is concentrated in the Person of the King, is not unlike that Dream of *Democritus* and other Philosophers, who fancied to themselves, that the whole *Universe* was composed and diversified by a *casual Concourse*, of what, I know not, fantastical and imaginary *Atomes*.

CHAP. X.

Wherein the Truth of our Tenet is by more reasons asserted, the contrary Error disproved, and the Absurdities in the Sectaries paradox involved, are discovered.

THis Tenet, that a King hath his Sovereign Power, *communicative*, not *privative*, from the people, that he is so invested with it, that the People have it *habitually, suppletively, and may resume it* in some exigent cases, giveth nothing to the King but only an empty and void Title, which is not only resumable at peoples Pleasure, but so coarctated and bounded with Limits and Conditions of their own devising, that *simul & semel*, at the same Instant and Moment

Moment he both receiveth Empire and Sovereignty, and layeth down the Power to rule and determine in matters which concern either the private or publick good. At the same Instant (without prejudice or derogating from the honour of Royalty, be it spoken) a King becometh a *Monster*, an *Hermaphrodite*, composed of a *Sovereign* and a *Subordinate*, of a *King* and a *Subject*.

Again, by this they hold, I see not how they can difference a King from a Magistrate, which with all understanding and knowing Politicians, are distinguished by their different specifick Entity and Being. Nay, a Magistrate is stated into a safer and better Condition than a King, for the Magistrate is to exercise Judgment and Jurisdiction by *known Statute and custom Law*; the King is censurable, deposable at the Pleasure of the Multitude, as they fancy him to have transgressed. The Magistrate cannot be censured, be punished, but by Law; the meanest, the basest of Subjects, may arrest, cite, convene the King before the *underived Majesty of the Community*, he may be judged by the arbitrary Law that is in the Closet of their Hearts, and that not only for real Misdemeanour, for real male-administration, but upon fancied, apprehended Fears and Jealousies, and these not evident by any apparent Act or Attempt, but intended. If this be not to seat themselves upon the Tribunal of God, who hath reserved as peculiar to himself, to judge and discover mens Hearts and Intentions, I know not what else can be it, except it be that those Seraphical Doctors make so bold with Almighty God to unfold the Secrets of Predestination, and to define who are the Elect, who the Reprobate. Any man that hath nothing left but common Sense will chuse rather to live

the most private and obscure Life, than to expose and oppose himself with an idle nominal Title of Honour, to the most corrupt and corrupted Judgments and Affections of an ignorant, unjust, and indiscreet Multitude. I pray you, when neither the true Grandeur and Splendour of Majesty, nor the sacred Power of Empire, nor the highest Pitch of Reverence and Obedience due to so sacred a Function, and so sacred a person can shelter and protect him, who can be so demerited, as not only to embrace an empty Title, *Ixi-
ons* cloud, but run the hazzard of total Ruine and perpetual Disgrace?

I know what will be answered, good Kings are in no Danger; this Terrour is only a Terrour, a Curb to bad Kings. The contrary this day appears, and ordinarily the best of Kings are most in danger. Who knoweth not how ambitious, factious, and discontented Spirits, are most ingenious and solícite, where no real and just Challenge can be made against a good King, by specious and spurious Pretexts to incense and inflame with Fury the erring and deceived Multitude, who loath things present and at hand, and promise to themselves foolishly greater and better things by a Change. Not unlike to a man sick of a burning and raging Fever, imagineth this or that Bed he lyeth in is the cause of his Pain; change him to another Bed, in his Fancy he expects to recover Health, yet is disappointed, and putteth himself in a worse Condition. It is easie for subtle and crafty Spirits to make people apprehend so, because of the present sense of some little Pressures or Incommodities in the Government: Which is unavoidable here, because we are not to expect to enjoy a *Plato's Republick*, or a *More's Utopia*, an *Entopia* indeed, that were Heaven upon Earth: that
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is, there is no Government no where so compleatly perfect, that it wanteth altogether its Incommodities, and none so imperfect which hath not with it its own Commodities. I may say of the most perfect and best ordered Government, what the Fathers said against the *Pelagians*, *Omnis nostra perfectio imperfecta perfectio*; there is none so happy that hath not with the greatest Commodities some Incommodities, and so we may say with the *Comick*, *aut hec cum illis habenda, aut illa cum istis admittenda*; We must resolve to endure some Inconveniencies in the best Government, rather than disturb and destroy Government, and lose the excellent and sweet Fruits we have by it. Hence they press upon the weaker and less Understanding, but more numerous People, the present seen and felt Inconveniencies, and possess them with Fears and Jealousies of more and greater ensuing dangers (*Fraus in parvis, sicut Livie, sibi fidem præstruit, ut cum opere-precium est magnâ cum mercede fallat*) that they ought not to lie under these Burdens, and to be nakedly exposed to more imminent Dangers, lest unprovided they be taken up and destroyed. When these Male-contents have laid this Foundation, then they raise the work by liberal undertaking, and like the Devil their Father promise to the gulled people, *Matth. 4. Omnia hec tibi dabo*: to deliver them from all their Pressures, incumbent Burthens, and imminent fancied Dangers. The People by their big words and promises conceive great Hopes, cry up those *Achitophels*, those *Absalons*, those *Shebaes*, as the only Worthies, upon whom should be devolved the whole Trust and Care of State and Kingdom, of Reformation of State, of Church. To entertain these false Hopes, which are but false Conceptions, *Molass*, they personate such as had no private

ends, were only publick Souls, resolved to spend themselves, nay offer themselves a Sacrifice for the People; they speak as smooth as *Absalon*. and will be thought to desire nothing but Piety and Purity in the Church, and Justice, Peace, Liberty, and plenty in the State.

When the multitude are thus bewitched, then they advance the Work, they desire the Assistance of the numerous and popular part to bring this glorious Reformation to effect; pretending the Glory of God, the Purity of Religion, the Liberty of the Persons, and the Propriety of the Goods of the Subjects. The poor people follow *Absalon* in his Treason, usurping the Crown, pretending he is about to offer a great Sacrifice to God, but intended to pull the Crown from his Fathers head.

Nemo repente fuit turpissimus, when they have thus gained the popular Affection, and are Masters of their Hearts and Lives; They strike not first at Royalty, but express their Zeal and Courage in accusing the great States-men, of purpose to leave the good Prince naked and destitute of all Good Counsel, and by fierce accusing of them, and charging them with all the Evils they fancy in the Government, to flow from the Influence their Counsels and Courses have upon Sovereignty, they prove themselves innocent to the World. They hope, having set them by their places, they shall make place for themselves, to make King and Government at their own Devotion: and before they fail in this, another Government they will erect. They set on the furious multitude against men, not only innocent, but well deserving, making the people believe that they are the Authors and Abettors of all Evil and Mischief, whether real or fancied, present; and that these

these are the only Rubs stand up betwixt them and an happy Government. If they can make no relevant Endictment, no legal Proof against them, before some of them be not gone, new Laws, new Presidents shall be made never to be a leading case hereafter; and others shall suffer first as *Papistical*, but if that appear not, then as *Prelatical*, but if this cannot be charged upon them, (a high Crime truly to be accounted a maintainer of that Order, Christ hath established to preserve his Church) they are Incendiaries in State, *Malignants in Church*, disaffected to the true Protestant (which what it is but negatively we could never yet know, for ten of them cannot agree upon a positive Faith) Religion. And such, say the *Absorptives* of this time, are the close Enemies of Church, of State, of Religion, &c. and so much the more dangerous because they carry their malignant Purposes, Designs, and Courses so closely, that no Proofs can be made against them.

The People thus engaged, thus by Fury enraged, cry out, crucifie them, crucifie them: are made guilty, and run so far upon the score, as they cannot be taken off again.

If it fall forth so, that *these Worthies* miss their ends, and others succeed in the places of the displaced; then they cry out, the malignant Party prevaieth still. The Pilots are changed, not the Tempest. There is no Remedy, Power must do it, the Kingdom must put it self in a Posture of Defence; *Salus Populi*, the Safety of all, of Religion, of Liberty, of Property, and what is dear to us, calleth for it; for it is *extremus necessitatis casus*, it hath come to the last Push. But I pray you who are the competent Judges to determine, that our case is such? None else but those Worthies, those

those who are animated with a publick Soul, who are dead to private ends, have no more life, but what is to be spent for the Publick, for the safety of it; who have already, as good Patriots, layd their Lives, their Honours, their Fortunes at the stake. There must then be a Power in some hands (God knoweth the worst, and that have least right) to command men, raise Arms, seize all Ammunition, command what Supplies of money is necessary, for *so great, so glorious a Reformation*, to rectifie what is amiss, to right what is disjoynted in Church and State, to repell the dangers incumbent and imminent, otherwise they are not sufficiently enabled, for the great Work, *the preservation of the King and Kingdom, Church and State, Law and Liberty*, and what else is really or imaginably dear to us.

In end an *Arbitrary Government*, that terrour of all popular terrours, is introduced, is practised; true *Sovereignty* and *Royalty* is wrested from the true Sovereign, and the thing we fear most, is placed in a wrong, a worse, an unlawful hand. The Effects are more bitter, the Charge is infinitely above all we or our Predecessors did complain of in many past Ages; the pressures are intended and multiplied, and total ruine to the Kingdom is threatned: onely this difference is observable, that where before with a less bountifull Duty, Religion and Royalty, Justice and Peace might have been maintained, nothing could be obtained to strengthen Sovereignty; but now we are become so lavish, so prodigal, we give twenty, ten, five parts of our Goods, our Revenues, spare not our Jewels, our Ear-rings, to make up a molten Calf; so apt, so prone is our corrupt Nature to a wicked course. And whereas before we were like *Rachel*, in the streets, in
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our shops, crying, we are undone with Subsidies, Monopolies, &c. saying with *Micah*, we are robbed of our Silver, which either we made or were to make our god: now in pressures voluntarily undergone, which infinitely transcend all pressures before seen or felt, we are as speechless as the unworthy Servant in the Gospel. In this we are not unlike to little children, who, when they fall of themselves, and hurt themselves pitifully, cry not at all, but if any touch them, and they fall, with little or no hurt, they cry out bitterly.

You see then how easie it is upon this ground maintained by our Sectaries, our Adversaries, to disquiet State and Kingdom, to unking Kings at pleasure. And that it is so, would to God the Lecture is read to us this time in the deplorable state of this Kingdom, did not with much grief and sorrow make it appear to the least-seeing Eye, and did not cry it aloud in the deafest Ear.

That the best of Kings, most pious and just in themselves, and of sweetest temper, are liable to these mischiefs, this black day of ours confirmeth it; by-gone Stories evidence it. Was there ever a meeker, a milder Governour upon Earth, than *Moses the meekest of men*, sensible of no injury done against himself, zealous of wrongs done to God, and quick enough when *Aaron* was wronged? Was there ever a greater Treason hatched and set on foot against any than him? *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram*, with two hundred and fifty Princes of the Congregation, lead the People to Sedition, then to Rebellion, telling him in his Face, he and the Tribe of *Levi* took too much upon them. God, to vindicate Sacred Sovereignty, did interpose by a miraculous way, never heard of before, that the
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Heads are swallowed up living, in Body and Soul, into Hell; a fearful Example, the first Rebellion we read of, and so exemplarily punished, that *Optatus* Bishop of *Milevis*, writing against *Parmenian*, observeth, that the like is not to be found, to be read again in Scripture. To *Moses* add *David*, not onely a man, but a King according to God's heart, and one as apt and inclinable to pardon offences committed against his Person, that the like you find not, except it be the Example we have this day before our Eyes; yet what Treasons were intended, acted, and attempted against him, Scripture doth plentifully record. *Zedekiah* was not one of the worst Kings of *Judah*, yet was he so over-ruled, or over-awed rather by his Lords and Councillours, that he confesseth of himself, *The King was not he that could withstand them*, that he was forced to deliver up *Jeremiah*, the Servant and Prophet of God, into the hands of their Power and Malice. Many more may be adduced. *Augustus*, the sweetest of *Heathen* and *Roman* Emperours, *Titus*, the love and delight of mankind, were tossed and beaten with the same Tempests. It is infallibly then certain, that the best of Kings cannot be secured, where this Tenet of our Adversaries is maintained, especially when Divines do preach it as a Truth revealed from Heaven, to aver that Rebellion is obedience; nay, a necessary Duty which God commandeth; and Jurists and Lawyers hold, it is consonant to Justice, the established and practised Laws and Customs of the Land; the Divine secureth their Consciences, and the Jurist their Estates and Persons, that they are put out of all fear of Evil here, or in the Life to come. They will find at last, that those blind Guides, with their People misled, will fall in the ditch. God have mercy upon
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the poor multitude who are deceived; the Deceivers have need of great Repentance before they can have mercy with God, or should find it with the King.

What a fearful thing it is to put Princes, and the best of Princes, most usually under this Tyranny, that the People may lord over them, needeth no other confirmation, but to consider a multitude in its nature, which is either the cruellest or tamest of Beasts. *Quod non audent singuli, audent universi.* Livie telleth us, that this is the natural temper and constitution of a multitude; *Ut serviat humiliter, aut dominetur superba. Libertatem quæ media est, nec spernere modice, nec habere sciunt.* Et non ferre desunt irarum ministri indulgentes, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebeiorem animos ad sanguinem & cædes irritant. We need not English it, the Expression is full in what we have said.

In sum, by these new-devised State-principles, no Kingdom, no State, can be long in quiet, in peace; no Kings, no Governours can be secured; by these Maxims we may change Kings and Governours as often as Moons, learn the Policy of the Goths, and practise it too, that if we be not successful in War, or have not a plentiful Year, or be troubled and infected with any Tempest more than ordinary, all may be laid upon the misfortune, demerit, or misgovernment of the King, and he, *Jonas*-like, thrown into the Sea, to appease the Tempest, another enthroned, to live and reign no longer than we please. A goodly Tenure for a King.

Another Argument I bring against this Paradox, which is this: by this Principle, if it hold good, all Title to a Kingdom by *right of Conquest* is made void; for this cannot be said to be derived from the Com-
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munity by contract and voluntary consent. Notwithstanding Scripture is clear and full for the lawful Title of a Sovereign by Conquest. Otherwise we must deny David's Title over Aram, and other Neighbour counterraneous Kingdoms to Israel. God, by his Prophet Jeremy, commanded submission, subjection, and obedience to Nebuchadnezzar, and enjoyned them to pray for him, and for Peace to his Government; I hope none will deny his Right to be just, and that by no other Title than Conquest. Our Saviour did submit to Caesar's Government over the Jews, paid Tribute, and by his *Jus Regale*, his Royal Prerogative of Coin, proved Caesar's just Title, that he silenced the Jews, as much at that time miscarried, that by their Native Liberty, and God's special Favour, they were not to submit to any stranger, as we are now adayes upon our fancied Conceits. The Jesuits will not deny that Conquest by War is *Justus modus acquirendi Imperium*, a right way to come by a Crown, if the War be justly waged, and grounded upon a good cause: for proof, see *Bellarmin. de translat. Imper.* and *Suarez*, in his Book, which we have often cited in this little Treatise.

It is easie to bring a great many more Arguments to destroy this erroneous Tenet, pernicious to mankind it self; onely because we are weary of it, give me leave in the Close to shew you, that it is *morbus complicatus*; a Disease, a Distemper made up of the confluence of many together; and that it hath involved within, or adherent to, and coherent with it, a great many Absurdities, contrary to Truth in Sacred Scripture revealed, to sound Reason and Policy. I shall onely point at them, and leave the enlarging of them to the judicious Reader.

1. First,

1. First, it is absurd to say and maintain in true Philosophy, that the Community is *primum subiectum*, the first Seat and Subject in which Sovereignty is immediately fixed. How can it be said so, seeing in them it was never found, never actuated, never exercised? *Vana est potentia que nunquam reducitur in actum.*

2. Next, this Principle presupposeth the most excellent of Creatures, Men, to be like *Cadmus* off-spring, *de terrâ nati*, sprung out of the Earth; *Juvenes aquilone creati*; or which is worse, in origine, like to the most imperfect of living Creatures, *Animalia de putredine orta*; Creatures coming from Corruption it self: which Paradoxes how well they suite with the Excellency of humane Condition, and which is more, with the Goodness and Wisdom of God in the Creation of all: and lastly, how consonant to sacred Truth in Scripture revealed: if these be well considered, then I am hopeful our new Statists will forsake their Error.

3. Thirdly, this Tenet of our Sectaries presupposeth that all men coming into the World, are *Jure* or *privilegio nature*, by the Right and Priviledge of Nature originally born equal, independent one from another, without desparity or Difference one from another. This is contradictory to the word of God, that teacheth God did fix Government in *Adam*, before the Woman was made, or Children begotten by him. Is not every one that cometh into the World begotten of a Father? Is he not thus by the Law of God and Nature to submit and subject himself in Reverence and Obedience to his Father? Is he not then so far from having original Power inherent in himself, that he hath not his own Original being in the Capacity of Nature, but from

from his Father? How then can he be freed from Subjection to his Father? And if his Father be subject to another, is he not by the same Law subject to his Father's Superiour? Who can make this Subordination void, except he will ranverse the Ordinance of God and Nature? Where then is the Truth of this deceiving Maxim which worketh so much mischief, *Quia que nascitur liber*, every man is born a free-man in the Forrest? Are they not subordinate, subject to the pre-existent Father, and to his Superiour too, if I have any? Is not the Female Sex by the Ordinance of God and Nature inferiour and subordinate to the male? Doth not Nature teach, that the Wife by the Law of Nature is subject to the Husband; If you will believe *Aristotle* in his Politicks, he telleth you that a man of weak Understanding is subject to him who is more intelligent and prudent, and (if I forget not) that he *naturâ servus*.

4. Fourthly, this ground presupposeth *Anarchy*, to be *de facto* pre-existent, really, and actually before Order and Government. Christians must believe that as God created all things *in numero, pondere, et mensurâ*, in a compleat Perfection of all things, every Creature having its own intrinsecal Weight and Worth, not only in it's own due Proportion and measure, but in a measure orderly disposed for it's Accord and Being, with the Universe; and must believe accordingly that he hath disposed of all things in that Order which establisheth an unrepealable Government by which *το πᾶν*, the whole Universe, and every Space and individual in the Universe is preserved and continued in it's happy natural Being. Who then can be so stupid to think that God Almighty send man in the World destitute of this Order and Govern-

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ment, which is necessary for the happy Being of the
Abridgment of the World, for whom it was made in
a secondary respect? If the whole world without this
Order could not but return to a confused *Chaos* and
Mass, and from thence to an Annihilation, what other
can be the Condition of Mankind without order esta-
blished to preserve it? See *Chrysostom's* Testimony up-
on *Rom. 13.* cited above. If they will speak philoso-
phically, they must confess *Habitus est natura prior pri-
vatione*, the Habit in nature is presupposed to be exi-
stent before the Privation; How come we then from
our new-state-Philosophers to hear, that Anarchy was
in Nature, was in the world before Government?

5. Fifthly, by the same Ground, by Consequence it
will as necessarily follow, that *Jus paternum & jus ma-
ritale*, the lawful Authority of a Father over his Chil-
dren, and a Husband over his Wife, are derived from
the Children and Wife, and that Children and Wife
in some cases may resume their Power derived from
them, and their native Liberty. If any aver so,
he is *Flagris dignus*, to be cudgelled, not to be an-
swered.

6. Sixthly, this Tenet if it be not blasphemous,
it is certainly sacrilegious; for to say that Power is ra-
dically, originally, fundamentally inherent in the
Community, or as the observator saith, that in the
people is *an underived Majesty*, robbeth God and Christ
of his Glory. Scripture declareth them to be the im-
mediate Authors of all Sovereignty, Glory, and Maje-
sty, as we proved above. Doth not Scripture express
the immense Sovereignty of God and Christ over the
World and Church, by the *Compellation of King*? If
you will have Kings then to be the *Derivatives of the
People*, take heed you make not God and Christ the

Derivatives of Derivatives, which any pious mind will be loth to think.

7. Seventhly, when the King's Right is made to be such, that the same *Sovereign Power is habitually retained* in the People, and the Power in some cases is *resumable*, How can you make the King's Title complete? Law is against it, when the Donor is *dans & retiens*, as Jurists speak, *giving a right, yet retaining it*; he maketh not over a full and entire Right: nor can the Donee lay just claim to it. It is a maxim without Exception among them, *Nulla obligatio consistere potest quæ à voluntate promittentis statum accipit*; the Donor is not tyed to make his Bond and Gift good, if at pleasure he may resume it, as we spoke before.

8. Lastly, leaving many Absurdities more untouch'd, in the last place we place it, which in our Judgment moveth us most to abhor it, that you which believe this Tenet, must either give us new Bibles, or find out new Commentaries to the Bible; for what you say is right down opposite, and contradictory to all the Bibles we have as yet seen: our Bibles say, *Dixi dii estis*, I have said, (that is, God himself) ye are Gods; & *fili Excelsi omnes*, and all of you are Children of the most high: your Bibles (or some as authentick as ours) must say, *Diximus dii estis, & filii terre omnes*; we the People have said, ye are Gods, and all of you sprung from us, from the Earth. We may say no more with Scripture, *Dominus dat & auferit regna*; the Lord giveth and changeth Crowns and Kingdoms: but it is the People that do it. It must no more be thought upon, *αἱ γὰρ ἔχουσι ἐξουσίαν, ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ παραμέναι*, it must be *ὑπὸ τῷ λαῷ*; that the Powers that be are ordained of God; nay, they are ordained of the People. David was far mistaken, who said,

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Power belongeth unto the Lord. For Christ's *Potestas data de super*, saying, that Power is from above, and by Donation from above, we must have it changed unto a *Potestas data de subter*, that all Power is given from below: infinite more of this kind may be adduced. Let me intreat our Brethren to consider, how sacrilegious a thing it is to rob God of his Glory; who hath said, *My Glory I will not give to another*; how tender he is of his divine Prerogative, to be *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*, not only by his Power over-ruling them, but also effective, endowing them with Royalty from above; how dishonourable a thing it is to place it in so wrong a hand, so base a prime Subject; how they disgrace Kings and Sovereignty, referring them to so base an origine; how they put them in so ticklish and lubrick Condition, that better being any thing than a King; how by this mean they secure neither their Persons nor Functions, nor either can be truly or appellatively sacred; how they open a door to all disquiet in State, in Church, to all Sedition and Rebellion; how they lead People on a way destructive to themselves, nay to humane Society, and consequently any Being at all; how, finally, they serve the Prince of Disorder, and run head-long and headstrong to Perdition; from which, good Lord, deliver both them and us.

C H A P. XI.

Scripture by Examples teacheth us, that Kings of Peoples making, have not had God's Blessing, but have ruined their Makers.

IF any will look upon Scripture with ordinary Observation and Judgment, it will appear, that when people have presumed by themselves to set up a King of their own, neither he nor they have been happy in that work. There is reason enough for it; how can a Blessing be expected, when and where God and Christ are robbed of their Right, and the People presumptuously usurp, and sacrilegiously intrude upon them.

The first King the people of *Israel* had, after that they were formed into a politick Body, is *Moses*; who *Deut. 33.* is termed *King of Jeshurun*. To speak truly, the Government then and till *Saul's* days was *Deonparia*, God retaining the Government in his own hands, and actuating it by his Deputies and Vice-Roys. The People had no hand in making him King. He was far from them when God sent him to be King over *Israel*. That his Right was just, his Government successful, none will deny. The next named King is *Abimelech*, the base Son of *Gideon*, and as basely created King too. *Israel* did offer an hereditary Title of the Crown to *Gideon*, after that he had vindicated them from the Tyranny and Oppression of the *Midianites*. He did refuse it; he knew that was not the right way of purchase, nor Gods appointed time come: *Judg. 8. 22.* After his Death the Bastard is made King, the first King we read of in Scripture, who was the Creature of the People: *Judg. 9.* Con-

Consider how this Work is hatched, perfected, and what is the end of it. He sets the work on foot by his alliance the men of *Sichem*, to do for their own Bloud and Brood. He useth an Argument that was strong enough in those dayes, better that he one and alone should reign over them, than the seventy Sons of *Jerubbaal*. It seemeth that the World was not then so much out of love with Monarchy, nor doated so much upon Aristocracy, as we do now in this declining Age. A special mean to enable *Abimelech* for the Crown, and to effect this unlawful Royalty, they agree to enrich him with Sacrilege, by spoiling their God's Temple, and taking out of it threescore and ten pieces of Silver. To make all sure, a Covenant is made, it is sworn too; They were so much in love with this new Covenant, that they called their God *Baal Berith*, the Lord of the Covenant; They will have God to own the Covenant, or then they Idoled the Covenant so much, that they would renounce God, if he would not be *Baal Berith*, the God of the Covenant.

What followeth upon all this? *Abimelech* enriched by Sacrilege, strengthened by his Alliance the *Sichemites*, they bound to him, not onely by the Bonds of Nature, but by a tye of a Sacred Covenant, a Vow interposed, all *Israel* over-awed come to his side; and the first Act of their Power and goodness is Murther, they murder the seventy lawful Sons of *Jerubbaal*; the engaged in mischief knew there was no safety, but to take away the right Stock, root and branch. Yet God miraculously preserved *Jotham*, not onely to denounce Gods vengeance against them both, the men of *Sichem* and *Abimelech*, the contrivers of this mischievous Plot, but to see it executed. You

See then, the first popular King (I mean of the Peoples making) beginneth his work (I mean his purchase of the Crown) with Sacriledge, a Covenant and cruel Murther, and innocent shedding of blood.

Look upon the Success. He is made, he is constituted King, with an uniform, an universal consent ; an universal and uniform Consent is no sure Argument, that the course so established is warrantable, and approved by Almighty God. Look upon more yet, *Abimelech* becometh strong, flourisheth, reigned over *Israel* three years : *Judg.* 9. 22. well near Antichrists time of endurance, he Kings it royally, successfully. Judge not then of a course by a speedy, a universal, a successful success, to conclude, it is Gods work, and marvellous in our eyes. It is hard to work great Works but with great Time, our Nature is averse from that, the Devil and the World do contribute their Wisdom and Power to impede a good Work. It is not so in bad courses ; *Moses* could scarce discipline the People of *Israel* in the space of forty years, in the School of the Wilderness, to obey God, but in forty dayes they were able enough to erect Idolatry and practise it. The Apostle Saint *Paul* wondereth that the *Galatians* were so quickly turned from the truth of the Gospel. But to reclaim them from their Errours, was as toilsome and longsome pains and travels, as a woman hath to bring forth a child.

Although Vengeance be delayed, it will come at last : it cometh with leaden feet, but hath iron hands. *Forham's* curse (who for ought we read, was the only man durst speak against the course) will come at

and devoureth *Sichem*, and a fire cometh out from *Sichem* and destroyeth *Abimelech*. The first stroke of Vengeance is upon the first Covenanters and Associates: By the means and strength of the *Sichemites*, *Abimelech* is made King over *Israel*. The first divisive motion is there; the Text saith, *God sent an evil spirit betwixt the men of Sichem and Abimelech, and the men of Sichem dealt treacherously with him: v. 23.* The first who gave him the Kingdom, sware and covenanted with him, are the first Traytors, or rather the scourge of God to begin his Mischief.

But how, I pray you, goeth this work on? you have Covenant after Covenant. The first Oath was unlawful, now treacherously they sware another Oath against him. What is the Solemnity? They keep a solemn Festival; (Religion must ever be a stalking horse) They go to the House of their God, they seal a new Covenant, a new Association; they not onely unking him, but also excommunicate him too: *v. 27.* No Covenants, no Associations, seal them, strengthen them with Oaths as many as you will, with Sacraments too, making *Sacramenta pietatis vincula iniquitatis*, the seals of Piety, the Bonds of Iniquity, they will neither bind sure, nor make unlawful pacts or compacts lasting. Read and consider *Psal. 11. Psal. 83.*

The story is worthy your looking on. Come on then. *Zabul*, *Abimelech's* Governour at *Sichem* is overawed, he must comply with the second Covenant. *Abimelech* advanceth with his Forces towards *Sichem*, killeth them that sallied out, mans the Gates, enters the City, kills all in the City, except such as flee to the Tower: they escape not, all of them are consumed with fire. You see then how the first Authors

When he hath done Vengeance upon them, he blocks up *Thebez*; God having done Vengeance by him upon the Faction, he taketh Vengeance upon *Abimelech*, kills him by the hand of a Woman, a dishonourable end, for a King, a Souldier, and that by a piece of a Millstone which crushed his Skull. To shun Ignominy, he calls to his Armour-bearer to kill him by his Sword, that it be not said hereafter, that he died by the hand of a Woman.

This is the first King we read of in Scripture that was the Creature of the People: How he atchieved it, how he managed it, and what end both he and they had, is enough to make us fall out of love with popular Kings, the Donatives of the People.

To this same purpose some bring the Example of *Jeroboam*, who hold that *Jeroboam* was King only by Gods Permission, and not by his Commission over the ten Tribes; and that to punish *Salomon* in his Posterity for his Uncleanness and Idolatry. Many things might be said *Pro* and *Con*; we purpose not to dispute the point accurately. The Reasons which incline some learned men to hold this Opinion, amongst others, are these: That there is no anointing bestowed on *Jeroboam* at his Entry to the Kingdom. The symbolical Ceremony of his Entry is expressed, by renting of a Garment in twelve pieces; he taketh ten of them to himself, Scripture mentioneth not the giving of them. The People grieved, pitch upon *Jeroboam*; either by him to get redress of their Grievances, or otherwise, if that be refused, to assume him to be their King.

Consider how the Change is effected: There is a specious shew made of a glorious Reformation, of easing the Subjects of many great Pressures, with which they

they were overburthened in *Solomon's* Reign: by heavy Impositions laid upon them to build the Temple, *Solomon's* Palaces, and to entertain the Magnificence of his Court, never so rich as in *Solomon's* Reign, and never more grudging complaining. These Pretences were no less specious and real, than the specious and spurious Pretences of our glorious Reformers, and zealous Patriots to day: great Promises are made, great Hopes of better things are conceived, but behold the Issue.

God in his secret but just Providence left *Rheboam* to the power of bad Counsellors, he refuseth Redress of Grievances, the ten Tribes revolt, enthrone *Jeroboam* and made him King. To bring all to a wished end, the People and their new King begin at Religion. Religion must ever be pretended, whatever be the work, whatever be the Intention. How is Religion entreated? By King and People it is subordinated to Policy. Religion is made as Hangings for the House. New Calves, new Altars, new Feasts are erected and instituted: with a specious Protestation and Profession, that God may be more frequently, more fervently served; and the People with more ease to attend, to frequent the Service. To this purpose, the Calves are erected at *Dan* and *Bethel*. The way of serving God before established was too too troublesome; the true cause was, the King feared if Gods Ordinance were kept, and the ten Tribes should go to *Jerusalem* to keep the solemn Feasts, do God service according to his Prescript; true Religion preserved would reduce the ten Tribes, to their due Obedience to the house of *David*. New devices in State, in Government, necessitate the Authors and Abettors to new devices in Religion.

That

That this work may have no Rubbs, the old Priests must be gone; the Tribe of *Levi* must be rooted out Root and Branch: It cannot be, but the old Levites will cross the new established Government. The basest of the people, Tinkers, Coblers, Coachmen, Mechanicks, &c. become *Jeroboam's* and his new Subjects Priests.

This done, he and they take as much Authority over and above *their* God, as before they did over and above *their* King: A Calf must be their God.

What is the Success? Here is a thorow Reformation in Church and State, all is unanimously agreed upon by King and People. Consider the Consequents: They make to themselves a King to remedy their Grievances; the King maketh them cast-aways. They banish from them the true Levites, they place in their stead the Scum and Dross of the vulgar. By him and his Successors all the erroneous Religions amongst their Neighbours are admitted and received; any Religion is allowed except the only true one. But what? Is not the King by this made glorious at home, and terrible abroad? No: no such thing. He is made the Reproach of all Kings; his *Motto* for ever is, *Jeroboam that made Israel sin*. This is all *his* Excellency we read of in Scripture, this is the Horn of his Exaltation. How fare the People? free-born people, under a lawful and just King of their own, setting up a King of themselves, wrought and effected at last their own, their Kings, their States utter Extirpation, and of free-born Subjects become the Slaves of strange Kings and Kingdoms.

This Story duly considered, is able to rectifie the Errours of this time, if mens minds be not fore-stalled with damnable Prejudice. It layeth open to us, that
Kings

Kings when they are Peoples Donatives are not Successful; and discovereth, how popular Reformations (so much now in this Distempered Age cryed up) are not Gods Ordinance, and most unhappy in the end: howsoever for a time, when God is to punish a Nation, they may have some seeming Success, and some lasting Durance; God in his Wisdom giving way to them to punish our Sins, and to try our Constancy in his Truth. Both the one and the other Story prove, that these Courses when they prevail are the worst of Judgments. If you joyn them, and be pleased to parallel them with our times, you will find a full Correspondence, remonstrance and resemblance with us in many fit Resemblances; my Prayer to God is to give us all Repentance, and that Speedily, lest the like or worse befall us, when we shall have neither Opportunity, nor Place, nor Power to help it, and too late acknowledge our Error.

All Divines do rightly hold, that *Omnia Christi actio nostra instructio*, never was any thing acted by Christ, which hath not in it something to instruct us in Christian Knowledge and Duty. That Christ was truly a King born, we proved it before; The wise men did him royal Homage while he was in his swaddling-cloaths; he entered *Jerusalem* in royal Pomp and Magnificence; When his Disciples honoured him by the name of King, he did not refuse it; when the Jews were offended at it, he told them it was not just, but also necessary; and if all should fail in that Duty, the Stones would proclaim him King, and do him Homage; he avouched it before *Pilate*, when he was looking Death in the Face; by a special Direction of Gods Providence it was written upon the Cross; *The Altar where he offered that propitiatory and expiatory*
Sacr-

Sacrifice; His Grave was sealed as Kings Tombs use to be: from the Cradle to his Cross, from his Mothers Womb, till he is buried, in all the times of his Life, his Royalty and Kingdom is manifested. Notwithstanding of all, when the people would have made him a King, he disclaimed it, he would have none of it. When by commission and trust he might have been Arbitrator, umpire betwixt two brethren differing about the moitie of their inheritance, he refused it. Many reasons for it, but without all controversie this is one, to teach all Christians, that Sovereignty cannot be derived from the people, from the Communitie: He would have none of that dignity from them, he chose rather to want it, than to have it from a wrong hand.

It is evident by what we have said, that sacred Truth, as revealed to us in Scripture, as understood by the Fathers and Martyrs of the Primitive Church, and sound Reason, doth plead for the truth we maintain, That *Sovereignty* and *Royalty* in a King, is by immediate dependency, derivation, and collation, from God and Christ, who are Kings of Kings, and Lords of Lords; and it is not onely a simple Errour, but pernicious, sacrilegious, and derogatory to the Honour of God and Christ, to make it to be derived and transferred from the underived Majesty of the People; and that in such a measure, by such a tenor, that they have it in what portion, what proportion they will bestow it, with no more certainty and security than to be *Tenants at will*, to be enthroned, dethroned, kinged, unkinged at their pleasure. Having said enough (although but little in regard of what may be said) to establish the positive part, *κατασκευαστικῶς*, we come now to take off *ἀνασκευαστικῶς*, their pretended grounds and principles, upon which they build
this

this their *Babel*. And these onely in this question, which have nearest alliance and contingency with this first Question; the rest we will take off in discussing and debating the subsequent Questions, as they are most proper and homogeneous to them, and every one in its proper place.

C H A P. XII.

Wherein three grounds of our Adversaries are taken off and disproved. As, 1. That the interposing of an Humane Act in the constitution of a King, doth not hinder the Sovereignty to be immediately from God. 2. Next, the inconsequence of that Sophism, a private man may make away his Personal Liberty, and enslave himself to another, Ergò, a People or multitude may do the like, and invest a King with Sovereignty, is detected. 3. The true sense of Quisque nascitur liber is given, and the false Gloss of the Adversaries is discovered.

THE Jesuit is so learned, that he knoweth and acknowledgeth that an Humane Act may be interposed, and the Effect wrought, produced, may be the immediate Work of God; the ignorance of the Sectary, and weak Christians stumble at it; for nothing is more frequent in the mouthes of the vulgar and less knowing sort; where hath God manifested from Heaven, that such or such a one is King?

King? and the Observator himself conceiveth the sense of our Tenet, *that the King is immediately of Gods appointment and constitution*, cannot in any other Notion be verified, except we can shew a particular Revelation for every King invested with Sovereignty by a Revelation from Heaven. It feareth me he will take ill, if we marshal him with the vulgar and less-knowing sort; and yet without Disparagement to his other Abilities, we must conceive him to be a small Intelligent in Divinity, if he conceive that no Power can be in man by Gods immediate working, except he can shew him a Revelation from Heaven, by the Ministry of Angels, or some extraordinary Prophet.

In stating the Question, we cleared this point sufficiently to an understanding man; yet give me leave for the better Satisfaction of the weaker *coctam reponere*, to resume and repeat some of that we have said, with some Additions and Illustrations.

It is not to be denied but in the ordinary Constitution of Kings, some humane act interveneth, and is interposed; as Election, Succession, Conquest, &c. yet this may very well subsist, with the immediate Collation of royal Power from God: to make this plain, consider that a thing is said to be immediately from God two ways. First, when it is done by God *sine quocunque signo creato, & sine quacunque dispositione praeveniente*; that no created Sign or previous Disposition interveneth or precedeth the work done; Thus nothing is immediately said to be from God, but what is by immediate Manifestation from himself, or by the extraordinary Ministry of Angel or Prophet, as *Moses* was made Captain over *Israel*, *Saul* and *David* were made Kings of *Israel*. 2. Next, when God worketh or effecteth the work, yet so as some Disposition

sition, sign or created act is previous and antecedent to, or coherent with the work effected. By Baptism the baptized obtaineth Remission of Sins and Renovation of Nature; This Effect is immediately wrought by God himself: The reason is evident, because Asperision of, or Immersion in water of their own nature cannot take away the Stain and Guilt of Sin, nor state the baptized in the state of Adoption and Regeneration. The School expresseth it barbarously, yet pregnantly enough; *Deus concurrit ad*, God is concurrent and operateth with his Ordinance, and by his Influence supervenient of his Grace and Power, effecteth that which Baptism in its nature abstractly cannot produce: So as remission of sin, and regeneration *consequitur ad Baptismum*, followeth with, and is conjoined with Baptism. The School giveth us the way to discern it when it is so; and that is whensoever *Signum creatum*, the interposed act or previous disposition hath *no natural contingency with the effect*, the work wrought must be produced by some supervenient extrinsecal more eminent agent, which is God. Schoolmen do confess that the Sacraments do not confer grace *Vi naturali, Physicâ & inherente*, by their natural, intrinsecal, and inherent Power; but *Vi morali, supernaturali, & superveniente extrinsecâ*, but by some extrinsecal supervenient Power.

The like you may observe in sacred Orders; it is confessed amongst all understanding and sound Divines, that by Admission into sacred Orders the admitted receiveth a supernatural Power in supernatural things, for supernatural ends. This is not done without the interposing of an humane Act, the Imposition of the Bishops hands, and yet it is most certain, this is not done by the Bishops act, it is the Power of
God

God concurring and cooperating with his own Ordinance.

In moral things you may see the like, a man marrying a woman, becoming her head and Lord, there precedeth this Power and Right, a created humane Act, the voluntary Consent of the Woman; yet it cannot be said, that her Consent endoweth or investeth the man with this marital Right; it floweth from, and followeth immediately the inviolable Ordinance of Almighty God: and this tye is so strict, so perpetual by the same Ordinance, that it cannot be made void but by God himself; *No man can put asunder, whom God hath joyned together.*

This holds in the Constitutions of Kings. Some humane act, as Election, Succession, or Conquest is interposed, but none of them hath any *natural Contingency* with Sovereignty and Majesty, that by their intrinsic Power they can collate it, produce it, work it, or effect it. The Collation must necessarily then be immediately from God; and the same way as in sacred Orders. This was the Sense of the ancient Church, who ordinarily institute a Parallel, betwixt Prince and Priest; that as the Priest hath his sacred power spiritual immediately from God, so the Prince hath his sacred Sovereign temporal power independently from any other, and solely dependent from God. Hear them speak it in their own words: *Hofius* spoke so to *Constantinus* the Emperour; σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνεχείρησεν, ἡμῖν τὰ τῆ Βασιλείας ὀπίσσευσε· καὶ ὡς πατὴρ ὁ τῷ σὺν ἀρχὴν ἀποκλέπτων ἀντιλέγει τῷ Ἀγαλαξάμενῳ Θεῷ· ἔγω φοβήθητι, μὴ καὶ σὺ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔλκων ὑποκύδῃς. ἐγκλήματι μεγάλῳ γένη. *Vide Athanas. epist. ad Solit. vit. agent.* The

Sense

Sense is, *Hofius* acknowledgeth that Kings and Emperours have *Baſilicam*, Sovereignty and Royalty, as independently, as immediately from God, as Bishops and Priests have the trust which is peculiar to them *ex vi ordinis*: and averreth, that it is no less Intrusion upon God surreptitiously to invade the Kings Right, his Prerogative, than for any not called to the Ministry, to intrude upon the sacred Function and Charge of Bishop or Priest. The Passage is excellent: 1. Kings are Kings, *quâ* Kings *reduplicative*, immediately from God, and by his Donation of Power. 2. As Priests have a Power incommunicable to any besides, so Kings have their Sovereignty incommunicable to Subjects, or any else. 3. That to rob, or surreptitiously to steal from Kings their sacred Prerogative, is sacrilegious Usurpation, presumptuous Intrusion upon God himself; no less, if no more, than for a Lay-man to intrude upon the holy Function and Charge of Bishop or Priest. Neither *Athanasius* nor *Hofius*, nor any Father else understood, but that Princes had their Power as immediately from God as Church-men in sacred Orders.

To the Greek Fathers joyn the Latin. Saint *Austin de Civit. Dei, lib. 4. cap. 33.* saith, *Solus verus Deus dat regna terrena bonis & malis, &c. neque hoc temere, neque fortunâ. Sed pro rerum ordine ac tempore, occulto nobis, notissimo sibi.* It is the only true God, none else, man nor Angel, that giveth Kingdoms: and that not only to good, but to bad Kings; And this is not done casually by hap-hazzard, but in Wisdom conform to the Exigency of the time, of men living in the time. How it cometh that sometimes bad men are Kings, sometimes good men, it is of his Wisdom, in a secret Dispensation most evidently known to himself,

self, hid to us; but for all this, always just. I wish our Sectaries would hear and believe this Lecture of Saint *Austin's*; certain I am, the holy and learned Father knew they came not to their Crowns, but by some interposed act of Election, Succession, Conquest, &c. notwithstanding, he will have all their Sovereignty, Majesty and Power solely from God.

Symmachus the Pope writing to *Anastasius* the Emperour, speaketh thus; *Tu defer Deo in nobis, & nos deferemus Deo in te*: which words formally and explicitly imply, that Royalty in Kings is to be revered and obeyed, as in Gods immediate Vicegerents upon Earth, as God is to be obeyed in Church-men his immediate Vicegerents in the work, and supernatural Acts and Effects of the Gospel. To this Patriarch add the Suffrage of another great one, *Cyril of Alexandria*, lib. 11. in *Job. cap 13.* where amongst other things to this purpose he saith, *Et homines quidam à Deo accipiunt ut aliis possint dominari.*

Review again that excellent Passage of the Council of *Paris*, lib. 2. cap. 5. *Constat ergo, quia non actum, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humane, sed virtute in occulto judicio dispensationis divine regimen confertur terrenum.* It is in the opinion of these Fathers in this Council assembled, that no act humane whatsoever, which is interposed in the Constitution of a King, maketh him King, but only *virtus, & occultum judicium dispensationis divine*, the Power, the secret and incomprehensible Judgment of God, in his unsearchable Dispensation.

Review the Passage: *1 Sam. 12. v. 11. And the Lord sent Jerubbaal and Bedan, and Jephthah, and Samuel, &c.* Here you see the sending of *Jephthah* to be Judge, is no less given to God. than the sending of
Gideon

Gideon and *Samuel*, whose calling was by extraordinary Revelation. Compare this Passage with *Judges* 11. There you will find that *Jephthah* came to be Judge, by a Covenant made betwixt him and the *Gileadites*: Here you have an interposed Act, and a great one, that seemeth to serve much for your purpose; you have a Covenant, a Compact. Yet notwithstanding the Lord to shew this Act, this Compact, this Covenant contributed nothing to make him Judge; the Lord himself in authorizing him as Judge, vindicateth it no less to himself, than when extraordinarily he authorized *Gideon* and *Samuel*: 1. *Sam.* 12. v. 11. a place, an Argument unanswerable: which bringeth home two Conclusions; the one, that the Authority and Power is from God; the other, that whatsoever act intervening, if it were a Covenant, it contributeth nothing to Authority, cannot weaken it, cannot repeal it.

By Scripture then and Antiquity it is clear, that the interposed act humane whatsoever it be, whether Election, Succession, Conquest, or any other lawful way, doth not collate the Power, but design or declare the person, and letteth not the Power to be of immediate Collation from Almighty God; as when the Church designeth or declareth a man for a sacred Function, it is God only who bestoweth the supernatural Power, Faculty, and Ability. Or it is in some case like to that, when our King sendeth the honourable Order of the Garter to a Duke or Prince abroad by the hand of a Gentleman, the Gentleman intimateth it to the person honoured, but the bestowing or collating of the honour is from the power of the King, the sole and proper Fountain of that Honour.

Let this suffice to remove their first scruple : we come next to examine that which both Jesuit and Puritan make much of, that is, A private and individual Person, may make away his own native and proper Liberty, and enslave himself to a Lord and Master ; from hence they conclude, *Ergo*, a Community or Multitude may surrender their own native Liberty to one or more to rule over them : See *Bellarmino* pressing this Argument, *lib. de Laicis, cap. 6.* and *Suarez, lib. 3. defens. Doctr. Orthod. cont. Sect. Anglic.* If we would grant all this, yet this much we will gain, that as a singular Person, when he hath made away his Liberty to another, he cannot resume it, no, although he hath made his bargain in a hard condition, disadvantageous to himself ; then although we give that their consequence is good, which we will never grant, it will by as necessary consequence follow, that when the People have divested themselves of that Power naturally inherent in them, and invested one or more with it, they cannot resume it, no, not though they have made it to their own disadvantage.

It may be they will tell us, *Argumentum à simili in dissimili non concludit*, that an Argument built upon a Similitude concludeth not in the point of Dissimilitude. We will yield to them this with both our hands, and upon the same ground we rejoyn, that there is a wide disparity and difference betwixt the two. 1. First, because it is certain, *Nemo nascitur naturâ servus*, None by Nature cometh in the World in the condition of a Slave. Nature in this is equally Indulgent to all. But on the other side, it is as true, *Nemo nascitur liber ab Imperio*, No man is born in that condition to be free from Government, but with his natural Being cometh into the World subject to some.

Every

Every man is born subject to his Father, of whom immediately he hath his Existence in Nature, and if his Father be the subject of another, he is born a Subject to his Father's Superiour. 2. Next, there is another great difference; Every man by Nature hath an immunity and liberty from *despotical and berile Empire*, and in this may say, *Possum facere de meo quod volo*, I have this privilege by the Law of God and Nature, that I am enslaved to none : and consequently, without his own voluntary act, making away this *native and natural liberty*, he cannot be divested of it; and in his bargain and covenant, may more and less enslave himself: but on the other side, God and Nature have laid a necessity upon all men coming into the World *subesse imperio*, to be subject to Government. Again, because this Government, this Empire, this Sovereignty cannot protect us sufficiently, to make us enjoy the sweet fruits of happy Government, *Peace, Righteousness, Plenty, Godliness and Honesty*, except it be entirely endowed with *Sovereign Power* to act its Duties, preserve it self, protect us: Almighty God, as he investeth the Sovereign with entire Sovereignty, so hath he set the bounds of it, defined it; otherwise, such is the corruption and natural repugnancy of every one to it, that forthwith it should be rent in pieces.

It is accidental to any to render himself a Slave; it is occasioned either by Force, as when one is taken by an Enemy, he is *Mancipium, Servus*: or otherwise some extreme necessity and indigency forceth one to enslave himself, to sell his Liberty, to redeem him from Debt, Death, or any ignominious and intolerable condition, to state himself in a more tolerable one. In brief, it is some supervenient necessity that forceth man to

make away his native and natural Liberty & servitude: but *Subesse imperio*, to submit and subject to lawful Government, congruous to the condition of man, and necessary and convenient for the happy Being of man, is natural, is necessary by the inviolable Ordinance of God and Nature.

This answer to their second Sophism cleareth the sense of their Maxim, so much cried up, and so much abused, *Quisque nascitur liber*, every one is born a free man; that we need not insist much upon it: yet to make the general sense of the Maxim appear, and to discover their adulterate and bastard sense; we say, it is most true, that *Quisque nascitur liber à servitute*, Every man is born a free man from slavery; but *Nullus nascitur liber ab imperio*, none is born exempted from the subjection of lawful Government, without a subordination and subjection to a Superiour: Christ, as man, was not exempted from this: It is recorded in Scripture, *Luke 11. 51. καὶ ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτοῖς*. He did subject himself to *Joseph*, his putative Father, and *Mary* his true Mother: the word in the original is the same which the Apostle useth, *Rom. 13. 1.* commanding obedience and subjection to Higher Powers.

It were very fit our opposites would consider what Power the Father had over the Children, by the Law of God and Nature; that to redeem himself from Debt, from any distressed state and condition, he might have enslaved his Children begotten of his Body. If this Power was not by the right of Nature, by the warrant of God, I can see no other, for it could not be by a mutual and voluntary act of Father and Children.

To shut up all in few words, give me leave to put you in mind, that the Stoicks observe three Notions of *servitus*, of Service and Subjection. 1. The one is, when a man, contrary to native and natural Liberty, is made a Slave to a Lord or Master : this they call *servitutem ἐν κτήσεσι*, when a man hath power to command, use, dispose another man's Person, as his other Goods, at pleasure : for this cause the Scripture standeth not to call a Servant *his Master's Money*. 2. The other is, when a man's Person is confined or committed, that he is deprived of living at liberty as he lists; as Criminals or Debtors ; this kind of servitude they call *ἐξέσθαι αὐτοπραγίας*, when the liberty of going where we will, or doing what is lawful at pleasure, is taken from us. 3. The third is, a Servitude, as they call it, *ἐν ὑποτάξει*, consisting in Subordination : in the first sense, every man is born free : in the second sense, some onely by misdemeanour or misgovernment are restrained from the liberties of free Subjects : In the third sense, no man is born free, but subject to his Father, and to his Father's Father, his Father's Sovereign ; so that all are born tyed to Obeisance and Duty of Allegiance ; and seeing Christ fulfilled so all righteousness, that he subjected and submitted himself to his Parents, and to *Cæsar* too, we must deny to be Christians, if we deny that we are born *under the tie of Allegiance*. Of these three enough, we haste to consider some more of their Popular Maxims and Sophisms.

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This answer to their second Sophism cleareth the sense of their Maxim, so much cryed up, and so much abused, *Quisque nascitur liber*, every one is born a free man ; that we need not insist much upon it : yet to make the general sense of the Maxim appear, and to discover their adulterate and bastard sense ; we say, it is most true, that *Quisque nascitur liber a servitute*, Every man is born a free man from slavery ; but *Nullus nascitur liber ab imperio*, none is born exempted from the subjection of lawful Government, without a subordination and subjection to a Superiour : Christ, as man, was not exempted from this : It is recorded in Scripture, *Luke 11. 51. καὶ ἦν ὑποτασσάμενος αὐτοῖς*. He did subject himself to *Joseph*, his putative Father, and *Mary* his true Mother : the word in the original is the same which the Apostle useth, *Rom. 13. 1.* commanding obedience and subjection to Higher Powers.

It were very fit our opposites would consider what Power the Father had over the Children, by the Law of God and Nature ; that to redeem himself from Debt, from any distressed state and condition, he might have enslaved his Children begotten of his Body. If this Power was not by the right of Nature, by the warrant of God, I can see no other, for it could not be by a mutual and voluntary act of Father and Children.

To shut up all in few words, give me leave to put you in mind, that the Stoicks observe three Notions of *servitus*, of Service and Subjection. 1. The one is, when a man, contrary to native and natural Liberty, is made a Slave to a Lord or Master : this they call *servitutem* ἐν κτήσεσι, when a man hath power to command, use, dispose another man's Person, as his other Goods, at pleasure : for this cause the Scripture standeth not to call a Servant *his Master's Money*. 2. The other is, when a man's Person is confined or committed, that he is deprived of living at liberty as he lists; as Criminals or Debtors; this kind of servitude they call *δέσμευσιν αὐτοπραγίας*, when the liberty of going where we will, or doing what is lawful at pleasure, is taken from us. 3. The third is, a Servitude, as they call it, ἐν ὑποτάξει, consisting in Subordination : in the first sense, every man is born free : in the second sense, some onely by misdemeanour or misgovernment are restrained from the liberties of free Subjects : In the third sense, no man is born free, but subject to his Father, and to his Father's Father, his Father's Sovereign; so that all are born-tyed to Obeisance and Duty of Allegiance; and seeing Christ fulfilled so all righteousness, that he subjected and submitted himself to his Parents, and to *Cæsar* too, we must deny to be Christians, if we deny that we are born *under the eye of Allegiance*. Of these three enough, we haste to consider some more of their Popular Maxims and Sophisms.

C H A P. XIII.

The Maxim, Quod efficit tale, est magis tale ; or Propter quod unumquodque tale, ipsum magis tale ; or Constituens constituto potior, is examined.

Rossæus and Brutus, and after them the *Observer* have abused this Maxim infinitely to the great abuse and wronging of Sovereignty, and to advance the Subject above the King, the disorderly rout of the multitude above the Lord's anointed. The *Observer* enunciates it thus, *Quod efficit tale est magis tale*, that which maketh any thing such or such, is in it self much more such or such ; he assumes, but the People make the King, give him all the Power and Majesty he hath : *Ergo*, the people are above the King, &c. Aristotle pronounceth the maxim thus, *Propter quod unumquodque est tale illud ipsum est magis tale*. Rossæus, Brutus, Bouchier, and others give us it thus, *Constituens constituto potior*, the Constituent is more excellent than the constituted : but the People are Constituents of Royalty : *Ergo*, &c. Howsoever they differ in the Expression, they agree in the Sense : let us examine it.

It were fitter to reserve this to our fourth Question, but seeing the *Observer* maketh it his first Ground, we resolve to shew the weakness of it here. We premise this, although we would grant *their major, their Maxim*, in the greatest and most vast Latitude of their Conception, the Argument concludes not against us ; for the Assumption is as false as Falshood it self : we have

have proved that the people in no notion imaginable, whether diffusively or collectively, or representatively taken, are either the Efficients, or Constituents, or Donors, or Authors of Sovereignty or Sovereigns: we might therefore without hurt to the Cause we maintain, grant *their Major, their Maxim*. Yet that we may undeceive the simpler sort, we will a little scan the Truth and proper Sense of *the maxim and major*.

It is no less truly than usually spoken, *Qui versatur generalibus, versatur dolose*: there is no readier a way to deceive the ignorant and little knowing people than by abusing general Maxims, which are current, extending their Force farther than they can reach. If Commons, and almost all, even of better place and understanding, were not too violently zealous for, and impatient of Intrusion upon, or Violation of their supposed Rights and Liberties, and were not by the Corruption of Nature too too apt and facile to entertain Suggestions which are plausible to their Fancy and Humour; and withal were not wanting to themselves in Moderation, they could neither trust nor magnify so much such specious, deluding, and deceiving Sophisms, nor would they so madly and closely adhere to their Masters and Teachers of such Doctrines, as to be inflamed with Fury, to become mad in Impiety and Rebellion, with such Impetuosity, that they cease not, till they become their own Instruments, to ruin themselves totally, and to bring upon themselves the imaginary and groundless Evils that they most fear from others.

Philosophy teacheth us, that all such general Maxims must be bounded and limited with their own true Limitations and Qualifications, otherwise they conclude

clude not necessarily, firmly. I learned of *Aristotle* in the School, that this *maxim*, *Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale*: requireth necessarily, before it bring home the Conclusion, two Conditions.
 1. The t^one is, *Ut utrique insit*, that what you are to conclude, be both of them in the efficient and effect.
 2. The t^other is, *Ut recipiat majus & minus*, that that is really in both, and predicated of both, have such a Latitude, that it hath a Capacity of more and less. Without these Limitations the Maxim will conclude too much, which in *right Logick* is the equivalent of that, to conclude nothing.

Seeing we intend a popular way, that the shallowest may understand it, let us prove what we say by Instances to the contrary, by examples to the contrary. It is against Sense and Experience to conclude, This maketh such a thing such, *Ergo*, it self is much more such: for by the same way I reason, What maketh any thing drunk, that is much more drunk: but Wine maketh a man drunk: *Ergo*, Wine is much more drunk. This concludes not, the reason is, because a man may be drunk, but Drunkenness is neither inherent in Wine, nor accident to Wine. This is taken off then by that Limitation, *Ut utrique non inest*. Again, *Scintilla ignis ab ictu silicis*, a little Spark of Fire from a Flint-stone falling into a Magazine of Powder, putteth the whole Magazine into a Fire, and that the Town or Castle; will it follow hence, *Ergo*, that little Spark of Fire from the Flint is a greater Fire than when a whole City is a Fire? I know to this may be answered, a greater Fire it is when the Castle is in Fire, but no more Fire; the Difference being only in *degrees of Extension*, not of *Intension*, as Philosophers speak: next, that the scintil from the Flint-stone is

magis tale, more so, than the City inflamed, or the Castle incensed, because it is so *effective & formaliter*, both formally in it self, and effectively the cause of the other; the other set on fire by it, is only *formaliter*, formally so; because this is not so easily intelligible by every ordinary Reader, I speak more plain.

The Parliament cannot like these *Maxims* of the *Observers*, and if they see and judge right, they must make an Order against them, and this especially; for by this Ground it will follow inevitably and necessarily, that the Counties and Corporations of *England* may make void all their Commissions given to the Knights and Burgesses of the house of Commons, and send others in their place. Nay, more will follow, that they cannot make orders and Laws, but that the Counties and Corporations may make much more, undo what they do, repeal what they establish, establish and enact the contrary. Frame the Argument; The Constituent is better and higher in place and dignity than the constituted; but the Counties and Corporations are the Constituents of the Knights of Shires, and Burgesses in the House of Commons; *Ergo*, they may void their Commissions; *Ergo*, they may change the Commissioners, send others in their place; *Ergo*, they may repeal their Orders, establish other Laws contrary and contradictory to theirs, &c. and many more Absurdities may be inferred from hence. This made *Buchanan* ingeniously maintain, that Orders and Laws in Parliament were only *προβουλευματα*, *Precognitions*, till the whole People gave their Consent, and had their Influence *authoritative*, upon the Statutes and Acts of Parliament. By this you may know where he put the *Legislative Power*, in the Community; and this is with more shew of reason than the *Observer's* Tenet, who holdeth

holdeth that the *Legislative Power* is in the Parliament; and yet *Buchanan* is more justifiable for this reason; because, where Majesty is, there is *Legislative Power*, but according to the *Observer's* mind, in the People is the *underived Majesty*; let him then come home to the Scottish Tenet, and make it an Article of their new Covenant, or new Creed, (if they will) that the *Legislative Power* is in the People, and the Parliaments Orders and Statutes are only *preparatory precognitions*: I know the *Observer* thinks to salve all this, that the whole Power of the Gentry and Commons is entirely transferred from the *collective Body* to the *representative*, the *Parliament*. To this we answer two things: 1. The first is, ye and your Brother-assistants the *Scots* are not of one mind, for in the beginning of the Scottish Troubles, when the Subjects there were preferring Petitions, by their Declarations and Protestations, they put all the Power in the collective Body, and kept their distinct Tables. 2. Next, speak ingeniously and candidly, *Observer*, shew us the reason of the Difference of the Disparity, why the whole entire Power of the Community (if any they have) should not be *totally and entirely* derived from the People to the King, when they devest themselves of their underived Majesty, and invest the King with it, no less than the whole entire Power of the whole Kingdom is devolved upon the two Houses, and that irrevocably too, to hold in the King, as in your Knights and Burgeesses: you are not able to shew it, but what with one hand you take unjustly from the King, with another, but a wrong hand, you ascribe to the Parliament. It is like in times succeeding and after-ages our wise Kings will learn to know what is *their Power, Place and Prerogative*, by that the Parliament hath assumed to them, but

but we are hopeful they will never exercise it with such Cruelty and Tyranny. I many times think upon it, that as the extravagant Ambition and Usurpation of the Pope of Rome, robbing Kings of their sacred Right, and assuming to himself such superlative Transcendent Power for himself and his See, both in Spirituals and Temporals, hath wakened Christian Kings to consider better of their sacred Prerogative; and by what he unlawfully and antichristianly assumed to himself, in *temporalibus*, to know what Trust God Almighty hath given to his Vicegerents, his Kings; so I am hopeful, if God hath mercy reserved for these Kingdoms and Church, right Bounds and Limits will be set to Subjects, which will produce happier and sweeter Fruits of Government, than we see or feel from these *corrupt, co-equal, co-ordinate, falsified Powers*; and Sovereignty and Royalty be better rooted, which God of his Mercy grant for the good of his Church, the happy estate of the Kingdom, and honour and right of our King.

If what is said be not enough to shew the Weakness of these popular Sophisms, I come nearer to the *Observer*, and put it home in a case, where I dare promise he will say it is Sophistry: By this way of reasoning I will prove; there is no better way for the *Observer* to improve his Wealth, than to make over the Right of all he hath to me: the Argument will hold good, *Quod efficit vale, est magis tale*; he that maketh me rich, by giving me all his goods moveable and immovable, maketh himself richer; but the *Observer* by giving of all his goods (my assumption should have been hypothetical, for positively I know the Gentleman will not do it) to me, maketh me rich, *Ergo*, he maketh himself more rich. This Logick, I conceive, is not so powerful as to cheat him out of his natural, rational Faculty, and so cheat him
out

out of all his Lands, Chattels, and Revenues: yet it may be by an order of the House, that in some case this Logick may serve to good purpose, that the People giving the twentieth, the tenth, the fifth part, or the Moity of their Moneys and Revenues, and all their Plate, to strengthen the Parliament, to advance the good Cause, to cherish (if we will speak truly) and foment this present Rebellion, it will not lessen their Wealth, but enrich them more, because *quod efficit tale, est magis tale*, it maketh some rich, and consequently the Donors much more rich. Certainly, if this Logick hold, it must be in great request, for if this Logick do it not, few can see how the Publick Faith can be kept; Divinity and Church-rents (if you sacrilegiously rob God, which God forbid) will not do it; it must be some Sophism like this, some Sophism in this kind, that must answer for Publick Faith, refund the Moneys borrowed from just Creditors, and repay the wise Undertakers, *qui spem pretio emerunt*, who have brought their Hogs to a good Market.

To apply this shortly in few words: If I remember rightly this Maxim, *quod efficit tale est magis tale*, I learned in the University, to be understood, *de principio formali effectivo*, of such an Agent as is formally such in it self, as is the Effect produced; Next, that it is such as is effective and productive of it self, as when the Fire heateth cold Water, it is hot formally in it self, and maketh Water hot likewise. By which it is necessary, that the Quality inherent in the Effect, be formally inherent in the Agent; for this reason it is, that Wine cannot be said to be drunk, because drunkenness is no wayes inherent in Wine, nor can Wine be capable of it; and this made Aristotle qualify his Maxim, *quod efficit tale est magis tale, modo utriusque insit*. And this *insit utrique*, that it be in both,

maketh that the Maxim holds not in such Agents who operate by donation, for he that is the Donor denudeth himself of the Right and Power of that he giveth to the Donee. So here this condition faileth too. And consequently, if the Right of the King were transferred by Derivation and Donation from the People, the Donation devests them totally of it, except the King have it by way of loan, which to my thinking never any yet spoke. Next, it is required, that there be a Latitude, and that that is effected be capable of a Latitude of more and less, as when (as I said before) Fire heateth Water, the heat of the Fire is more than the heat of the Water. Lastly, some add too, that the Maxim must be understood *ante effectum productum*. Now all the Argument falleth to the ground, for Sovereignty never was, nor can be in the Community; Sovereignty hath power of Life and Death, which none hath over himself, and the Community conceived without Government, *all as equal, endowed with Natures and native Liberty*, of that Community, can have not power over the Life of another; and so your Maxim may be turned home again upon your self. For if the People be not *sales*, such by Nature, as have such Power, they cannot *constituere sales*; make such, that is, Kings endowed with such Power. But sure it is, (as it is said) they have not power of Life and Death, to take away their own Life, or anothers: Ergo it must be from God, the living God, the God of Life.

Seeing you make so good Use of your Logick, give me leave to practise Logick upon a more sure Maxim, which is this, *omnis effectus est in efficiente vel eminenter, vel formaliter*, whatever is in the Effect that must be in the Efficient, either formally, or in a more eminent and superlative way; But there is something in a King, which is not in People, either eminently or formally:

Ergo,

Ergo, the People are not the Efficient and constituent of a King. The *minor* and the assumption is clear, The King hath the Power to take away the Life of man, which is not in the People, whether you take them *severally and singly*, for no man hath Power, or may kill himself: or whether you take them *joyntly*, for if none hath power over his own Life, much less over his Neighbour's; and your grounds besides presuppose, that all men are equal amongst themselves. That the Sovereign hath this Power, who is so mad as to deny it? *Gen. 9. Rom. 14. He bears not the Sword in vain.*

Lastly, this Maxim, *quod efficit tale, est magis tale; constituens constituto potior*, holdeth well with our tenet. Thus, he that maketh Kings, and endoweth them with Power, is much more a King himself, and hath much more Power: But God and Christ make Kings, *Ergo*. The Assumption is clear, *for God is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, to him all Power belongeth; here then, utriusque inest*; and for the other *recipit magis & minus*, it is certain; for the Power of all Kings upon Earth, that ever was, are, or shall be, have no more measure and proportion to his Power, than a drop of Water to the Ocean; his Power is like the light of the Sun; their Powers but a borrowed Light, like to that in the Moon and Stars. The King's Power related to God is not univocal, it is onely equivocal or analogical; and that to be doubted of too; for Philosophy telleth us, *finiti ad infinitum nulla datur proportio*. It is more than apparent then, that this Maxim is onely abused by the Deceivers of this Time, to make themselves and the People both of them miserable. And the Maxim will conclude, that the *Sheba's* and *Shimei's*, these Authors and Incendiaries of Rebellion are more miserable, and shall receive (if not in this Life,

Life, yet in that is to come) without extraordinary repentance, a greater condemnation, for they kill both Body and Soul. They make the simpler sort of People miserable, by setting them on upon rebellion against God and his Anointed, to the destruction of State, Soul and Body, temporally and eternally, to the reproach and disgrace of Christian, Catholick, Reformed Religion; and infallibly by necessity of consequents, and necessity of consequence, they make themselves most miserable; for, *quod efficit tale, ipsum est magis tale.*

C H A P. XIV.

Other grounds of the Jesuit and Sectary are removed and disproved; as that; that neither Scripture nor Nature determines the specification of Government; nor do they intimate, why this man more than the other, or he than a third; or these more than those, should have the Power of Government. And that great one is taken out of the way, whereby the variety and difference is found in several Monarchies, It is more than apparent, say they, that Monarchy is $\tau\epsilon\sigma\omega\delta\iota\kappa\lambda\omega$, by the voluntary composition and constitution of man.

OUR Sectaries have borrowed, as we told you before, their great Ordinance of battery against Sovereignty, from the Jesuits Magazine, any who is read in them knoweth well enough how they

triumph in those Arguments, crying out till they be hoarse again :

1. First, *Neither Scripture nor Nature teacheth that Monarchy, Aristocracie, and Democracie, or any other imaginable spece and kind of Government, is the necessary Government of Humane kind and society; but that the specification and determination is Arbitrary, and of the constitution of man. To this same purpose is that other, Neither the Law of God nor Nature demonstrate, why this man more than the other, be than a third; why these more than those, should have the Sovereign Power.*

2. Another great piece of Battery is that, that there is such a multiplicity of variety and differences of Kings, and Royal Power in the Kings of the World; (look, say they, upon Spain, France, Britain, &c.) that this must necessarily argue, Kings are of Peoples making; and their Power is in that portion and proportion, as it pleaseth the People to entrust them.

3. The third is, *All Humane Societies are perfect Republicks, and as they have in them originally a Power to appoint their Government and Governours, so they have a Power to preserve themselves, and in case of mis-government, they may resume their Natural, Native, and Original Power, rectifie by themselves what is amiss; otherwise it must be that God and Nature have left them remediless. The first two we will handle in this Chapter, the last in the ensuing.*

To answer the Jesuit first in gross to all; however he be wary enough in all his courses, yet in pressing these Arguments against Monarchy, to prove that Monarchy is by Humane Institution and Constitution, and not by immediate collation from God, he is not so prudent: for *mutatis mutandis*, with a little change, losing nothing of their force; these Arguments *κατα*

Blaſon retorted, and turned home upon the Jeſuit, will bring home the Concluſion, that the Pope is not of Divine Inſtitution, hath not infallible and univerſal Jurisdiction, but is ſomewhere and by ſome cenſurable, in caſe of miſ-government.

Fiſt, I pray you, is it demonſtrable by the letter of Scripture, or by neceſſary and evident Conſequences and Conſequents deducible, that the Pope of *Rome* ought and ſhould be Univerſal Monarch of the Chriſtian Militant Church, Chriſt's Vicar in the External Government in the Church, the true Succeſſour to the ordinary Power and Place of Saint *Peter*, and ſecured from all Errour in Points of Faith, Worſhip, and Manners? That ever Saint *Peter* himſelf had ſo much, neither Scripture nor Antiquity ſpeak for it; nay, they ſpeak the contrary. And if it were granted to Saint *Peter*, where have we warrant in Scripture or found Antiquity, that the Pope of *Rome* and none elſe is the true and lawful Succeſſour of St. *Peter*? We will allow them, that if by Antiquity they can make it appear that it is ſo, we will yield what they demand. But as they frame the Argument againſt us, they muſt give us this in Scripture, *αὐτοκράτωρ*, in expreſs terms, or *κατὰ συνάκριτον*, by immutable and pregnant conſequence. If Scripture plead not ſo much for the Pope, it is more than certain, that Nature is as mute as a Fiſh in it. Who ever dreamed that Nature dictates, that for the good and happy preſervation of the Church, there muſt be one Univerſal, Authoritative, Infallible Head, and this man to be the Pope of *Rome*?

Next, let them ſhew to us, where in Scripture, or otherwiſe, by irrefragable Demonſtration, it can be made appear, that Gregory the fifteenth, or Urban the

eighth, or any else, should be Pope more than any other.

Again, let us give to *Bellarmino* his Tenet, which he maintains, *lib. 5. de Pontifice Romano*, where he endeavours to prove, That the Pope is authorized with an indirect Power over and above Kings, in order to Spiritual things; That the Church is a perfect Republick, which God hath not left destitute to provide for its safety and preservation: If *Bellarmino* will extract from hence this Consequence, *Ergo* the Pope, the Head of the Church, in case of Tyranny, Heresie, or Apostacy, for the good of the Church, may censure, punish, dethrone a King; Why may we not more formally, more powerfully conclude against *Bellarmino* thus, The Catholick Church diffusively or collectively taken, is a perfect Republick, which God hath not left destitute of Power or means to provide for her Safety, in case of Danger and Deficiency: *Ergo* in case of male-administration by the Pope, in case of Deficiency, (which are possibly incident to the Pope, and consistent with his *infallibility ex Cathedra*) The Community of Christians may supply his Defects, rectifie his Disorders; and why not excommunicate him too? Otherwise God hath left his Church remediless. The *Romanists* must acknowledge the strength of the Argument to be alike pressing on the one hand, no less than the other, or then they must fore-goe these ratiocinations. More of this in the next ensuing Chapter.

Having premised this general Answer, let us now answer to every one of them apart. And to the first Argument, which is framed thus; Neither the Law of God or Nature determines, that Monarchy is the Government, or Aristocracy the Government, or De-

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mocracy the Government ; or why one more than another, and some few more than many should have the Supremacy : *Ergo* the donation of the Power, the collation of Supremacy, is by Derivation from the People to the Governour or Governours. To the first Argument, I say, I answer thus, It is an inconsequence ; because although I would grant all the antecedent, and that the specification of the Government, the People designing (if ever any People were so really, to be free of all Government, because it is imaginable, let us grant it as real) either one to have the Sovereignty over them, as in Monarchy ; or some few of the better sort, as in Aristocracie ; or many, as in Democracie ; it will not follow, *Ergo* Sovereignty in one, few, or many, is by derivation and donation from them : Because their act in this is onely *Designatio Personæ*, or *Personarum*, to appoint one Person, or more, or many Persons to be Governour or Governours for the Government : The collation of the Power, *Consequitur ad designationem, ex donatione & ordinatione divinâ* ; followeth upon this designation and deputation of the Person or Persons, from the immediate donation and ordination of God. As when such and such men are designed to Holy Orders and Functions, the Designation of the Person and Persons is the work and act of the Church ; but the collation of the Power is the proper, peculiar, and immediate Work and act of God, as all knowing Divines do willingly acknowledge. To reason a *potestate designativa & deputativa personæ & personarum*, from the Power which designeth and deputeth a Person or Persons for a Charge ; *ad potestatem collativam auctoritatis*, to the power of collating or giving the Power it self, is the Sophism and caption, which the School calleth a

figura dictionis, where there is a *μεταβασις εις ἄλλο γένος*, a proposing in the Antecedent in one kind, and a concluding in the Consequent in another and different kind. A Woman may design the Person of the Man who is to be her Husband; but marital Right and Power is collated by God immediately, and issueth necessarily from his Ordination.

That other Sophism maketh no better Paralogism, although *Suarez* taketh it for a Demonstration unanswerable. The force of the Argument briefly is this; If Sovereignty in a King were immediately from God, then Power Royal could not chuse but be Uniform in all Kings, but this holdeth not; for there is such a latitude of Variety, that some Kings have more, some less, with a great deal of difference in the Point and Power of Sovereignty. Before we answer this, I entreat the Christian Reader to consider, that we maintain not, we plead not at this time for a *Despoticall Sovereignty*, which is *Dominium herile*, an absolute Power, such as the Great Turk this day exercises over his Subjects, or the King of Spain hath over, and in all his Territories without Europe: We maintain onely *Regiam potestatem quæ fundatur in paterna*, such Royal Paternal Sovereignty, as (blessed be God) we and our Ancestors have lived long and happily under. This, as it hath its Royal Prerogatives inherent naturally in the Crown, and inseparable from it; so it trencheth not upon the Liberty of the Person, or the Propriety of the Goods of the Subject, but in and by the lawful and just Acts of Jurisdiction. Next, I desire the Courteous and Judicious Reader to remember, that when we plead for the Sovereignty of Kings, we understand such onely who are truly and really Kings, not *Titulo tenus*, by compella-
tion

tion onely, as were the Lacedæmonian Kings, Executors only of the Decrees and Pleasure of the Ephori which was truly an Aristocracy, no Monarchy.

Then, the Argument is this; that which is of that Condition and Temper that it may be enlarged or straitned; that which actually and experimentally is found various and different, it cannot be such by any Constitution of nature, or Institution from God. But Monarchy is such, Ergo. Here Suarez cryeth out, *Clarum est indicium hujus veritatis, quod hæc Regia potestas non sit æqualis in omnibus regibus, neque cum iisdem proprietatibus durationis, perpetuitatis, successione, & similibus.*

The major of this Syllogism, or Sophism rather, must be some way better qualified, otherwise it will conclude nothing, or too much, which is the equivalent in the rules of Right and sound reasoning to that, to conclude nothing. In the same manner I reason, every man hath not a little measure of Knowledge, Reason, Discourse, &c. but some are more, some are less knowing men; some more, some less rational, &c. Ergo, Knowledge, Reason, Discourse, &c. are not natural to man. The Consequence is lame; because to Reason, *ab actu exercito ad actum signatum*, or contrarywise, will not always hold; or to reason *a potentia secunda ad primam vel è contra*: from the Difference in the Exercise, to conclude a Difference or Disparity in the first Capacity, is inconsequent. To be rational in the first Capacity and natural Power, is essential to all men, and equal in all; but in the use, the Exercise of the rational Faculty, there is a vast Disparity, because of a great Latitude in different actual Ability. Nature admits a great Variety in the use and exercise of her natural Powers, that all are not alike fitted and enabled for the second Acts. In the first Capacity nature

is so just, so equal, so indulgent to all, that the native first radical power being of it self, *in indivisibili*, is equal in all; no less, *in homine tenuissimi sensus*, in the least knowing man, than in him who in Sharpness of Wit approacheth nearest to Angelical and Noetical Spirits.

Take another Instance; the face of man is not much above a Span in Length or Breath, yet what an immense Variety is there in the faces of men? Naturalists and Moralists do hold, and not without great shew of Reason, that from the first to the last man, every individual hath his own proper peculiar face. Can *Suarez*, or any other from this Variety in the antecedent, bring home this Conclusion in the Consequent, *Ergo* a face is not natural to man, but something casual, or accidental? The Result is, we must pitch upon some things natural, which are uniform in all, and which yet admit, in the multivarious Wisdom of God, and large work of nature, some room and place of Variety, which Variety doth neither abolish nor destroy the Essentials. We will find the like in Monarchy, that all of them are uniform in their Essentials; and accidental Varieties do not prove them to be of humane Composition or Constitution.

If Instances in things natural do not the Business, let me entreat the *Jesuit* and *Puritan* to look upon moral things, where they will find the like. *Ultio scelerum*, that gross enormous Crimes are to be punished with a condign proportioned Punishment, is the Ordinance of God, of Nature, and common Equity. This Truth is undeniable. Is there not a great Variety and Difference in the measure and manner of the Punishment, in different Kingdoms and Nations? Theft somewhere is punished by Death, somewhere by Restitution; and that

that of Restitution, somewhere twofold, somewhere threefold, some fourfold, &c. somewhere it is punished by Slavery, somewhere one way, somewhere another way. Infinite Instances of this kind might be adduced. Can you from hence conclude, that the Punishment of Theft is not an inviolable Order and Ordinance of Almighty God and common Equity? But that it hath all its Entity and Being by influence from humane Appointment? A Country Clown would jeer you for this.

We deny not but Gods Works are uniform in their Essentials, *ita ut nec augeri nec minui possunt*, that if you take the least part of the Essentials (if Essentials may truly be said to have parts) from them, they perish; yet this may well subsist with some more, some less power in the actuating or exercising of this natural uniform Power. No understanding Jesuit will deny, but acknowledge that Episcopacy with all its essential Power is immediately from God, and of his Institution; and yet may it not be, that *in actu exercito*, in the exercise of this Power some Bishops may have more, some less power in actuating that which they are not restrained from, but may do *ex vi ordinis*, by their sacred native Power? A Bishop *ex vi ordinis*, by his inherent Power of Consecration, may ordain every where in the World, as many Priests, as many Deacons as he will; yet may he not be restrained, that he shall not do it without his own Diocess? May he not by the same Power ordain a Priest without a Title or Cure? and yet may he not be restrained by positive Consent and Constitution, that he shall not do it? Is not the case possible and probable; that Bishops of one particular Church may be more restrained than Bishops of another particular Church? Can *Suarez* or any other then

than conclude from this Variety in the Exercise of Episcopacy, that Episcopacy with it's radical Power is not immediately from God and Christ? He hath more Learning and Candor than will allow him to be so absurd.

The Sectary feeleth no hurt by this Stroke: Well, let us come home to him. I demand of the Sectary, whether or not a *Minister made* (I dare not say, a Priest in sacred Orders, or ordained by Imposition of hands, this Christian Practice is Antichristianism now a-days) hath not all the Power naturally inherent in him, that any other Minister whosoever, or wheresoever else? I am confident none of them will deny it: Again, may he not be restrained to do no Ministerial act, as to Baptize, Preach, &c. but within his own Parish, unless he be otherwise licensed? No moderate Sectary (if any such be) doth deny this. Come on: In some cases of Jurisdiction (I fear the Term offends the Ears and Stomach of the *Precisian*) in some cases of Discipline, I say, of which by Gods Law, and his calling (excuse me to keep their own Diction) he hath full Power within his Charge, may he not be so restrained that some *reserved cases* (this Phrase I fear be offensive) that some points of Discipline be reserved as peculiar for the *Classis*, the *Presbytery*? and that their Judgment is only to be executed by the Parish Pope? This is a known case amongst them. Again, may there not be some points of Discipline, and Doctrine too, reserved as proper and peculiar for a Provincial? And again, some of that high Strain and Concernment, that they cannot be cognosced or determined, but by a general Assembly of such a monstrous Composition, a *Tragelaphus*, such as never Christ instituted, nor Christian Church knew? All this holds with their Tenets,

nets, their Practices. Further I demand, may it not be that in particular National Churches, as the Church of *Germany*, the Church of *France*, the Church of *Scotland* are, in these cases reserved respectively as we expressed before, that there may be a great Variety and Difference? Now notwithstanding of all those Restraints, by which Ministers so evidently and actually differ in the exercise and actuating of their Ministerial Charge and Function: The Sectary that understands himself aright, will be very loath to have the Conclusion brought home, that the Ministerial Power is all by humane Institution, by humane Composition, Contract, or that his Calling is humane only, conventional only, pactional only. As he answereth for himself, I hope he will furnish us an Answer how to take off this Argument so much triumphed in both by him and his spurious Father the Jesuit.

I take the *Observer* to be a Lay Gentleman, and it may be, as the times are, he careth not much for the one way of Episcopacy, nor the other way of Presbytery, nor the third of Independency, nor any other way imaginary or imaginable in the Church; we must therefore some other way satisfy him. Then let me entreat him to consider what Variety and Difference is found in oeconomic Government, if he will look upon the exercise either of marital or paternal Power: View it, if in different Kingdoms, in diverse Nations he find not and acknowledge a great immense Variety: or will he look upon both at home, not almost one Family uniform and alike with another: and that according to the various Temper of Fathers and Husbands, their different Abilities, some being more indulgent, some more rigorous, some keeping the equal mean: Some being more intelligent, knowing, and
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prudent; some of less Knowledge, Prudence, and Government. The *Observer* will find some wives like *Sarah*, with Reverence and Submission calling their Husbands Lord; some *Nichols* lording over their Husbands; some Fathers like *Eli* too too indulgent to their Children: others like *Job* happily and piously breeding his Children, and sacrificing for them when they are feasting. In brief, look upon the œconomy of all Families within your Knowledge, and you shall find that in Government not one looks like another. Doth it then from hence follow necessarily, that paternal or marital Authority is not from God and Nature, but appointed at the pleasure and Constitution of men?

The result of all is this: That seeing in things natural, things moral, things ecclesiastical and spiritual, and in things œconomical, this accidental and super-venient Variety in their exercise, destroyeth not the true Essence and inseparable Essentials of the things themselves, but naturally they are uniform and equally the same: So in the different Monarchies of the World, the Disparity and Difference of the exercising of monarchical power, which is accidental, maketh them not specifically and essentially different and diverse. What these *prime, radical, essential Constitutives* of Monarchy are, it will be proper to express, quæst. 4. We content our selves with three, which are agreed upon to be in all Species of Sovereign Power, whether Aristocratical, Democratical, or Monarchical. The 1. First is, that it is *Potestas suprema*, that it is subordinate to none but Almighty God; *dicat negationem superioris in terris*, it admitteth no coordinate, collateral, coequal, or correlative Power. 2. Next, it is *Perpetua potestas*, a perpetual Power; He cannot fall from his Sovereignty,

ty, but whilst he lives he is the Lords Anointed.
 3. Thirdly, the Power of all Monarchs, and of every Monarch, is *Legibus soluta*, subject to no over-ruling Power of man. Conceive it not so, that Kings are free from the direction of, and obligation to the Law of God, Nature, and common Equity; but from *Coercion humane*, or any *humane coercive Power*, to punish, censure, or dethrone them. The *Hebrews* call these, and what particulars come within their verge, *Majus Imperium*; the *Greeks* *κύριον πολιτεύμα*, and *πρωτον ἀξίωμα*; and where those are equal in all Monarchy, no accidental variety can change the nature of Monarchy in all and every one of them.

As for other particulars virtually and naturally included in these three, howsoever *in actu signato*, in their first capacity, they be *proprie propriissime*, radically and properly in Sovereignty and in Monarchies; yet *in actu exercito*, in the exercise of them, they may be entrusted to the Subject, *Ita ut non defluat radix supremæ potestatis*, so that they have it onely by Delegation and Trust, *communicative*, by communication; not *privative*, not so that these Delegates are invested so with it, as the King is totally divested. Who can deny but *Judiciaria potestas*, the Power to judge in all Causes, Criminal, Civil, which concern the Subjects and Kingdom, is inherent essentially in the Crown and Scepter of the King, and the King, to ease his burthen, and that Justice may the more readily and easily be done, intrusteth his Judges with it? And here, is not the Trust less and more, as it pleaseth the King to give it? Is it not different in some onely for such and such Cases and Causes, in others, for some others different? And doth there not lie to the King *extrema appellatio*, the last Appeal? or if that be not, to make

make Justice more expedite, is there not the equivalent reserved, that the Party hurt may by Petition and humble Remonstrance, make his Case and Cause evident to the King, that he in his Sovereignty may redress what is wrong, and punish the Judge abusing his Trust? By which it is more than apparent, that this and the like Restraints, the King putteth upon the exercise of his Native Power, is onely *ad minuendam sollicitudinem*, not *ad minuendam Majestatem*, to facilitate his Charge, and not to denude or disrobe himself of that Sacred Right and Prerogative God hath given to him, as his Vicegerent upon Earth.

Again, it is not slightly to be passed by, that there be many Kings, many times too indulgent Fathers to their People and Subjects, who give away too much of their Sacred Right, which, when Subjects have come at, being more than they should, zealous of their Liberty, will not part with it again, but detain it sacrilegiously. If a man could be allowed to speak truth in this distempered Age, it may be said without sin against God, or crime of lèse-majesty against King or People, that where Monarchy has been too much straitened, and weakened by loss of its natural and native Prerogative, it hath been done by imprudent, at least inconsiderate acts of too good Princes, and of voluntary concession: and in the end, as they prove derogatory to Sovereignty, so they prove destructive to the Peace and Protection, the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject. Review all the Grants of Princes in this kind, and you shall find upon Authentick Record, that they be meer *Concessions of grace*. If as much could be shewn upon as faithful and unquestionable Record, to prove our King a pactional, and conventional Prince, your Plea should be more specious

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in the Eyes of the World. And if you could by *authentick Evidence* make it appear, that such bounds and limits are put to Sovereignty, as it is more than manifest that what you claim is by acts of voluntary Humanity, you should do somewhat which probably would take the People more; but I must tell you withal, you totally destroy Monarchy, and must say right down our gracious Sovereign is no Monarch, which is against Reason, Sense, all Records extant, and the universal testimony of all knowing men in other Kingdoms and States. It is great Discourtesie to change Princes *acts of grace* bestowed upon Subjects, into acts of *Duty and Debt*; nor is it a ready way to obtain more grace, to prove unthankful, and not acknowledge prior graces received. Lawyers and Jurists do tell you, that from *actus humanitatis & voluntatis*, from acts of Courtesie and voluntary Concession you may not reason to conclude *actum necessitatis*, an act of Necessity and Debt; this is a Paralogism in Law.

Lastly, Is it not more than known, that People are so corruptly disposed against, and opposed to Government, that they are ready to slip the collar, and to shake off, at least to weaken the yoke of Government? From hence it issueth, that subtil men wait opportunities to cheat good and weak Princes out of their Rights and Prerogatives. And is it not seen, that wise and able Princes being plunged into inevitable and unavoidable Difficulties, to obtain Subsidies and Assistance of their Subjects, to extricate themselves out of such Labyrinths, are forced to suffer their Rights to be wrested out of their hands, and to make sale of them? Both Statutes and Stories witness this truth plentifully. The truth is, they are ill made away, and a great deal worse

worse kept away. Necessity may be some excuse for parting with them, but it is Sacrilege in Subjects to detain them. It cannot subsist with the Rules of good Policy and Government, to trench so upon *the Prerogative of the King*, as to disable him from doing his Charge, *to protect and govern his Subjects in Peace and Safety*. An impotent King is the same with no King : where in the Book of *Judges* it is so oft repeated, when Idolatry, rapine, Blood and Oppression abounded, that *in those days there was no King in Israel* ; none is so blockish to conceive that God's People lived under an *Anarchy* : but the Phrase importeth two things ; first, that they wanted the most excellent of Governments, they had no King, no Monarchy ; next that the *then Government* was so weak and weakened, that it could neither repress, nor censure disorders of the highest Enormity : and that whole Book is a full Commentary that Aristocracy is defective to effect or work the proper Works and Effects of perfect Government ; for you shall find universally in the whole Book, that while the People were governed by the *Sanhedrim*, the Princes of the Tribes, and Fathers of the People, &c. the People went a whoring after other gods ; then God, to punish them, delivered them into the hands of their Enemies ; then they cryed to the Lord in the day of their distress, and then the Lord raised up to them a *Sophet*, a Judge, a Deliverer, who, under God, as his Viceroy, had *Jura Belli & Pacis* ; Sovereign Power in War and Peace : a very observable thing to prove the excellency of Monarchy, and the weakness and defects of Aristocracy, whose mis-government could not be rectified but by placing the Sovereignty in one : Read and consider the whole Book, and you will find it true what we say : To
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give you one for all, referring the rest to your own search and trial, read the second Chapter of that Book, which, in the opinion of the most Learned, is a brief summary of the whole state and condition of that People, from the first time of that story to *Saul* and *David's* dayes, and particularly read what you have *Vers. 17, 18.* *They would not hearken unto their Judges, but they went a whoring after other gods, and bowed themselves unto them, they turned quickly out of the way which their Fathers walked in, obeying the Commandments of the Lord; but they did not so. And when the Lord raised them up Judges, then the Lord was with the Judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their Enemies all the dayes of the Judge. And see what followeth, Vers. 19.* *And it came to pass when the Judge was dead, that they returned and corrupted themselves more than their Fathers, in following other gods, &c.* They ceased not from their own doings, and from their stubborn way. To conceive these words right, you must observe, that the word, *Judges*, *verse 17.* and the same word, *verse 18.* is not used in the same sense; the reason is evident; for of the first Judges, *vers. 17.* it is expressly said, *The People did not hearken to them, but they went a whoring after other gods, &c.* These Judges were the ordinary Judges, the *Sanhedrim*, the Princes of the twelve Tribes, the Fathers of Families, &c. The Judges mentioned, *vers. 18 & 19.* are the Judges extraordinarily raised by God, *Othniel, Ehud, &c.* So the word *raised* imports: Again, these Judges became Judges after their going a whoring, and after their misery and slavery for Sin. Thirdly, of these Judges it is said, that not onely they delivered the *Israelites* from their bondage, but that during their dayes, the People continued in the right service of God. Fourth-

ly, that after their Death they ceased not from their doings, and from their stubborn way : which things are far different from the Condition of the Judges mentioned *vers.* 17. Lastly, it is not to be passed by, that emphatically it is said, that *God was with the Judges whom he raised up*, more blessing Monarchy than Aristocracy, because more warranted and liked by God than any other Government whatsoever. Observe it well, that under the *Judges*, the Aristocracy, the people went a whoring ; and when the Judge, raised up by God, died, and the Government returned again to be Aristocratical; the Text saith, that *they ceased not from their doings, and from their stubborn way*. Add to this, that *Abimelech* knew it to be a powerful Argument to persuade them to make him King, that Monarchy was better than Aristocracy, *It was better one reign over them than seventy*. Forget not withal, that in all the Disorders mentioned in the last part of the Book the Reason is not given for want of Government, but want of a King in *Israel* : of this more, *Quest.* 2. To return to our purpose by what we have alledged it is clear, that Sovereignty weakened in Monarchy or Aristocracy cannot do it's work, and is in the next place and Condition to Anarchy and Confusion. When *Zedekiah* was over-lorded by his Nobles, he could neither save himself nor his People, nor Prophet and Servant of God *Jeremiah* : nor could *David* punish *Joab* when he was over-awed by that Power he himself had put in his hands. To weaken the head is to distemper the whole Body : wherefore I doubt not to affirm but if any good Prince or his royal Ancestors have been, or are cheated out of their sacred Right by Fraud or Force, he may at the fittest Opportunity, when God in his wise Providence offereth the occasion,

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resume it. Much more lawful it is for Kings to do this, when Subjects have used or abused rather such Concessions of Grace to the hurt of Sovereignty, and the good of the Subject. Let us never feed our selves in a foolish Paradise, to think the Subject can be secured, where the sacred Prerogative of the King is injured. *Contractatio rei aliena*, what a Sin it is the Law decides, determines: *Contractatio rei aliena & sacra*, what a Sin it is Scripture telleth us; it is Sacrilege, and Infrasion upon Almighty God himself, no less than when a Kings Ambassadour is violated by a Foreign Prince. Our Saviour hath taught us, it is not fit to cast Pearls and precious Stones, you know to whom. I have a better Opinion and Esteem of all the Kings Subjects. It is a poor and ignorant Shift that some Pettifoggers, Sinnerers in the Law, use to wrong the sacred Prerogative of Kings, acknowledging no more for the royal Prerogative, nor what they say, the Law municipal of the Kingdom hath determined. I do not speak this to reproach Intelligent Jurists, and reverend Judges, whose places and parts I reverence as much as any, accounting the knowledge of that Science next to Divinity, and far more excellent and useful than all others besides. I acknowledge none have written more divinely almost, nor rationally, in maintenance of the sacred Right and Person of Kings, than some excellent and eminent in the Knowledge of the Law, as *Bodin*, *Barclay*, *Blackwood*, and others, to whose Travels in this Subject we owe much: but for these other *Stioli*, they cannot distinguish betwixt a *Statute declarative*, and a *Statute constitutive*. What is found in the Statutes of the Kingdom concerning the Prerogative they only declare Prerogative to the Subject, and add a Sanction penal, in

case of Violation, they do not determine it, God Almighty hath by himself declared it. We would laugh at him in the School of Divinity, who would but mutter that the Decalogue was not a Law till God wrote it with his own Finger in two Tables in mount *Sinai*; gave it to *Moses*, and *Moses* intimated it to the people. What is *morally natural* in it, is *Lex nature*: the Dictate of Nature, by the finger of Nature written in the minds and Hearts of all; and what is *positivum morale*, positively moral, was from the Beginning so, known and practised by the Church from *Adam* to *Moses*; when *David* commanded what share of the Spoil those should have, who were the reserve to preserve the Stuff, Scripture calleth this Ordinance a Law made by *David* to last for ever; yet we know this was God's Ordinance before the Law. The very like is in Statutes and Acts of Parliament declaring the royal Prerogative of a King, that the Subject may the better know it, be put in *malâ fide*, if he violate it, and know what Judgment he is to expect.

Lastly, to shut up all this Discourse, let us intreat the impartial Reader to cast his Eyes upon all Story domestick and Foreign, and especially domestick, and if they find not the worst Bargains ever Subjects made, was at any Rate to purchase a possession of the sacred Rights of Kings; sometimes it hath been no better than *occidisti, possedisti*; it hath been purchased with a great deal of Blood. The Market hath been made by Sedition, Rebellion, Rapine, Murder, plundering God and man, and sometimes regained again to its right Owner, but at as dear a Rate and Price. It is in Morals as in Naturals, *Omne corpus quiescit in suo loco*, an Element without its place hath never Rest, nor the World good by it's Operation and Influence, till it

it be replaced and seated in it's right Locality. God hath commanded not a *date* but a *reddite*, not a *giving* unto *Cesar* of his Right, but a *rendring*, not only as due, but if it be with-holden or with-drawn to restore him it. The Stories of these Kingdoms have too many real Proofs of this Truth, I forbear to cite them, or to refer you to them, I wish of these days, and others like them, that they be never known nor read of hereafter :

Excidat illa dies, &c.

But seeing I treat of this purpose divinely, give me leave to speak Gods Truth to you, as becometh Gods Servant and a good Subject, Till those Kingdoms be purged of Sacriledge so highly committed *against God*, by wronging his *Anointed*, and *his Church*, and both of them restored to their sacred Right, we need not expect true and solid Peace, nor the true and effectual Blessings of God. Let us fancy to our selves this or that Accommodation for Peace, if God be wronged in his Anointed and Church, we add only Fewel or Oyl to the Fire. Almighty and merciful God, the God of all Spirits, put it in the Hearts of all Christians and Subjects, to honour him, and in him, and for him, his Anointed and Church, rendering to God what is God's, and to the King what is the Kings; that there may be a Blessing in these Kingdoms, in our *Jerusalem*, there may be Peace within her Walls, and Prosperity within her Gates, that the Crown which he hath put upon the head of his Anointed our Sovereign may flourish with him and his Seed for ever, and we and our Posterity may live in Godliness and Honesty under him and them till the coming of our Lord, when he, they, and we shall receive that immortal Crown of eternal Glory, which the *King of Kings, Lord of Lords,*

and chief Bishops of our Souls hath laid up for all them that fear him. Amen.

CHAP. XV.

Wherein is examined the Jesuit's Maxim, That every Society of Mankind is a perfect Republick; and consequently, the Community may supply and rectifie the defects and errors of Sovereignty. And the Puritan's too, That if there were not such a Power and Super-intendency in People to supply, God had left man remediless.

THE Jesuit and Puritan, although they differ in their Expressions, agree well in the Sense, and intend both of them one Conclusion. How this Argument *non solum* may be retorted upon the Jesuit against his *Numen terrenum*, the Pope, we told in the preceding Chapter; only now let the Jesuit give me leave to ask him how a Republick is conceivable, is imaginable without a Governour or Governours, and People governed? How can a Society be imagined without Order? and how Order without Priority and Posteriority? When the Jesuit then saith, that every Society of men is a perfect Republick, and every perfect Republick must have within it self as much Power as may preserve it self from Ruine, and right what is amiss, he must necessarily by this Society of men, and Republick mentioned in the Premisses understand only the Community of the People and

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Subject, in an abstracted Notion, from the Sovereign Governour or Governours; otherwise concludes nothing at all to purpose. And here let me intreat the Jesuit or Puritan to tell me where ever he read the word *Civitas* or *Republick* ascribed to a multitude, a disorderly rout, where there is no Governour. It is alike to conceive a politick Body without a Governour, as to conceive the natural Body without a Head. We pardon the Jesuit and Puritan to give us new Tenets in Policy, seeing they are so bold with God and his Church, to give us new Tenets in Divinity.

Again, it is worth our observing, that when our Adversaries come to shew where this Republick is, where this Superintendent Power is seated, they differ and vary infinitely. It is no wonder to hear the Builders of *Babel* speak with different Tongues, we are hopeful God in his mercy will scatter them upon the Earth, and cast down *this Babel*. The Jesuits, all, for ought I know, do ascribe this to the Community; The Sectaries do differ infinitely, some warrant any one Subject, any individual Person, to make away a King in this case; and that such a work is no less to be rewarded, than when one killeth a ravenous Wolf. Some will have it in the whole Community with the Jesuit. Some will have it in the Collective Body, but how? not met together by the Warrant or Writ of Sovereign Authority, but when necessity (which is often fancied and imaginary) of reforming State and Church, calleth them together. Some will have the Power in the Nobles and Peers of the Land. Some in the three States, assembled by the Kings Writ. Some in the inferiour Judges. In sum, every one fancieth it to himself, as he resolveth to Idol or serve corruptly

the humour and state of the People where he liveth. When these Classſical Authors agree in one, they will make us think their Tenets ſounder, and their courſes more warrantable, which I never hope to ſee, becauſe this Spirit of Diſcord God hath put as a Judgment upon all Maſters of Errours.

I diſpute not whether this Power be in the Community, or in the Collective Body, or in the Peers and Nobles, or in the inferiour Judges, or in the Parliament, or where elſe you can imagine it, for I know no where it is to puniſh or curb Sovereignty, but in Almighty God; Onely I demand of the Jeſuit and Sectary, that ſeeing whereſoever they put it, they make it the laſt remedy, the onely remedy to ſupply all Deſect, to redreſs all Wrongs, to ſet aright whatever is diſ-joynted in Church or State; *The Subject of this ſuperintending Power muſt be ſecured from error in Judgment, from error in Praſtice*: and how happy are we now, that in theſe late dayes we have a Pope in *Temporalibus*, who is no leſs aſſiſted and endowed with the gift and grace of *Infallibility*, than the Pope of Rome determining *ex Cathedra*. He is too much in love with a Community, or with Nobles, or with Parliaments, or with inferiour Judges, &c. who thinketh or judgeth that they, or any of them are ſecured from Error in the reformation of State or Church.

But on the other ſide, if the Multitude, the Peers, the Judges, the Parliaments, are liable to Errour, and many times actually do err; when they err in this glorious work of Reformation of Church and State, doth not the perfect condition of a perfect Republick require, that there be ſome authorized with a ſuperintendent Power, to rectifie their Errours, and to puniſh their miſdemeanours? otherwiſe God hath left Church

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and State remediless; they must name this Remedy, and by all appearance this must be the Sovereign again; and so *Impius ambulat in circuitu*.

If they will say, that to eschew such a ridiculous regrefs and circle betwixt King and People, and People and King, and to shun *Ne detur progressus in infinitum*, that if the Community or Parliament err, the remedy is to be left to the Wisdom and Justice of God; Why will not the Sectary acknowledge that it is as fit, when the Sovereign transgresseth against the right Rules of Government, that People and Subjects submit in Patience, and wait till God send a Remedy, either rectifying or removing the bad Governour?

Where ever you place this Superintending Power above a King, I care not much, for it is but an *Idea*; by this same Power they who are authorized with it by God and Natures Right, may call a King to account, censure, and punish him for any error or misdemeanour whatsoever, for any one act of injustice: Why might not the People of *Israel*, or Peers, or *Sanbedrim*, &c. have convented *David* before them, judged, and punished him for his Adultery with *Bathsheba*, and his murther of *Uriah*? The *Romanists*, and greatest part of Antimonarchical new Statists, do acknowledge no case lawful, but either in *Heresie*, or in *Apostasie*, or in *Tyranny*; the first two the *Romanists* would have it to the Popes Power, and at his Discretion; the last, of *Tyranny*, all of them do qualifie thus, *Us fit universalis, manifesta, & cum obstinatione*: that it be in such *Tyranny* onely which is intended, endeavoured, attempted for the whole and total destruction of the Publick, which cannot fall into the thoughts and attempts of any but a mad man. What is recorded in story
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of Nero his wish in this kind, may be rather judged the expression of a transported Passion than a fixed Resolution. Next, this case must be *evident, and clear as the Sun-shine at Noon-day*. Thirdly, it must be joyned with such perversity and obstinacy, that it is inseparable and invincible by any ordinary humble Remonstrance and Supplication to the contrary. Although we give it, that it were lawful in a case so qualified, for the Community or any else, to resume their Power, and use it to remedy themselves, and to rectifie what is amiss, which we cannot grant; we are very confident, that all the Wit of the Opposites cannot make it appear, that their case is such at this time. Upon their grounds we see not how by sound reason, not onely in such case as is expressed onely, but also in every case of male-administration whatever it be, they who have this pretended and fancied Power, may not use and exercise this superintendent and transcendently extravagant Power.

I pray you, if this Superintending Power in the People, Peers, or Parliament, &c. resumable in the exigent of great necessity, be the onely means and last remedy allowed, and so necessary that without it neither Church nor State can be preserved in their integrity; how cometh it to pass that we have neither Precept nor Practice for it in Holy Writ? *Deus & Natura non desunt in necessariis*; God and Nature are not deficient in things primely necessary. Nothing can be conceived more necessary for State and Church than such a Remedy. If then we cannot hit upon express and clear warrant by Precept or Practice in Scripture, for a matter of so high and necessary concernment, who can be so stupid in a Pythagorean way, to believe this upon an *αὐτὸς ἐπεί*, upon your Rabbies bare assertion, or
trust

trust it upon an Anabaptistical Enthusiasm. There is nothing more certain, than that there is not any thing in Scripture tending that way. If it be, our Adversaries are bound to produce it; for *affirmanti incumbit probatio*. He that affirms it to be so, is bound to make his proof appear.

Next, this tenet argues too great a confidence of our selves, as if to be left to our own natural Providence, were the onely sufficient, competent and perfect means of Safety and Redress of Church and State. We hereby presume upon our own strength, that by our selves we are able to rectifie and preserve both Church and State. It is Arrogancy too, for hereby we are puffed up with an overweening conceit of our own Piety and Integrity, as if our Judgment were so sound, as that it cannot be darkened or corrupted, and our Affections so orderly, as they cannot over-rule us in a wrong course, to do against that is pious and just. I was ever in opinion till now, that *anapaegnola*, to be secured from Sin, was the onely propriety of God, and that it is antichristian in the Pope to lay claim to an absolute Infallibility. But this new Policy will find the like in the Parliament, the collective Body or Community.

Thirdly, consider attentively and impartially what you hold, and you will find it resolve into *Infidelity* and *Impatience*; *Infidelity*, that we do not trust that God is able to do it; *Impatience*, that we will not wait patiently till he do it. The Heathen are nearer to Christianity in this, than our glorious Reformers. Tacitus saith, *Quomodo sterilitatem, aut nimios imbres, & cetera nature mala, ita luxum vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate; vitia erant donec homines, sed neque hec continua, & meliorum interventu pensantur.* The safest way,

way, in the wise Historian's judgment, is to endure the Tempests of ill Government patiently, as we do other Tempests falling from Heaven; while men are, faults will be, but will not be alwayes lasting; and better things will come with compensation of our losses.

Fourthly, It is much better for us, that God hath reserved this as a peculiar case to himself to punish Sovereigns, and to rectifie their Errours. But for us on the other part to usurp upon his Right, it is no less than intrusion upon his Divine Prerogative, and carrieth along with it *Morbund complicatum*, a number of Sins against many of his most glorious Attributes.

1. It wrongeth God in his *glorious Wisdom*, that he hath not prepared such a Remedy for us in this case; nay, it putteth *foolishness* upon him, that in this case he hath commanded Patience, and so left us totally remediless.
2. It wrongeth God in his *glorious Power*, by making him weak, that by no other means he could set aright what is disjoynted in Church and State.
3. It wrongeth his *Holiness*; who for the necessary support of Church and State by these means, is necessitated for effecting the Work most concerneth him and his Glory, to have and use the help of sinful men, nay, even of their Sins.
4. To what is said, add this, that this Principle of theirs dishonoureth Christian Religion; it turneth Religion into Rebellion, Faith into Faction, and Christian obedience into disloyal Treason. Nothing is more powerful to deter Kings from coming to the profession of Reformed Catholick Religion, than to hold, that such a Superintendent Power is in People or Parliament, to censure and unking Christian Kings.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Christian obedience and Sobriety teacheth us to leave all Evils in Church and State to be redressed by those means God himself hath appointed, and when the ordinate means do it not, or do to the contrary, we are to keep our selves pure, possess our selves with Patience, and refer the Remedy to God, who hath reserved this to himself: We ought not to iustle God out of his Right. Before we have said, that Scripture affords no warrant by Precept or Practice to the Community, the collective or representative Body to do it; But now we add, for them to do it, by opposing or resisting Sovereignty, is in Scripture expressly forbidden: *Romans 13. 2. Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Of this more *Quest. 5.* We must therefore closely adhere to what God hath commanded, not turning to the left hand, to obey unlawful things commanded by the Sovereign; nor to the right hand, with violence to resist lawful Authority. Let all Subjects remember, that in the day of their Accounts the charge will be to all singly or jointly considered, *Who hath required these things at your hands?* Who hath made you Judges and Executers of matters of so high concernment? And though it be pretended and possibly intended too, that the work so done shall make much for the glory of God, the good of the Church, the liberty and happiness of the Subject, it will not take us off. *We must not do evil that good may come of it, Rom. 3. 8.* To do God a piece of good service against his Will manifested, is not to acquit our selves as his bumble servants, but to prove us his arrogant and proud Masters. He is most glorified when his voice is obeyed: *1 Sam. 15. 22.* God standeth not in need of wicked man, nor of his sinful wayes. It was
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pious Intention *Uzza* had, when he put out his hand to save the Ark from falling: yet because it was above his Charge, God did strike him presently dead, 2 Sam. 6. 6. 1 Chron. 13. 10. It is not enough for these Reformers to be assured in their Consciences, that the work they intend and are about, tends to a good, religious, and pious effect: but they must have a sufficient Warrant from written Truth, that they are warranted and called to this work.

Sixthly, as it is against Piety, it is against Prudence and the good of Policy: Prudence doth not allow us to lose what real Good we have in present Possession, for any future good which we have only in uncertain Expectation. By this projected Course of our *New-Statist-Divines* we loose a good Conscience, fall in actual Disobedience and Rebellion against the Lord, and his Anointed, We refuse Gods Tryal, and with an unwarrantable, indiscreet, and unseasonable Zeal for Religion, and our temporary Good, come contrary to God and his Commandments. We invert, nay, shake off the Glory that God expecteth by our Tryals, and cannot, dare not, expect Gods Blessing to our Endeavours. If the Root be evil the Fruit can be no better. Who may expect a Blessing to a sinful and rebellious Course? Doth he allow us to do wrong, and seek an Opportunity to do Good? God acteth no Evil, but only permitteth it, and that because he is able to work Good out of Evil; which is as inseparably proper to God alone as the immensity of his Power: it is infinitely a superlative Presumption for us to presume upon the like. We cannot expect any Blessing without a promise; and have no Interest in the Promise, but when our Acts and Works presuppose Obedience to his Precepts. By such a Course

as you prescribe, we make the precept of God of none Effect. Our excuse in this case will prove no better than the *Pharisees* who taught their Disciples, doing things unlawful, to say *Corban*, God shall have Profit by it, in the good we shall do to Church and State. When we come to Judgment our Works shall witness against us, and our good Intentions will not save us; you know it is commonly and truly said, Hell is full of good Intentions, and Heaven of good works.

Seventhly, if we look upon the practice recorded in Scripture, when Gods people were delivered from Bondage or Captivity, or when Grievances in Church and State were rectified and reformed, God never gave warrant to the Community or to the *Sanhedrim*, but did it by his own high hand, or authorized a Sovereign, and put it in his Heart and Power to do it. Look upon the Bondage of *Egypt* which lasted 250 years, God did not use or authorize the People to deliver themselves by a strong hand, but sent and authorized *Moses*, *Exod. 3. 10. Come now saith the Lord,* and I will send thee; a calling he had, Authority from God he had, and it proved successful. Some pious and learned men are of the Opinion, that when *Moses* rescued the *Israelites*, and killed the *Egyptian*, he did offer himself a Protector and Deliverer to his Nation, but that for his unwarrantable Intention and Attempt, he was forced to flee, and with forty years Penance and Repentance walk away that Guiltiness. As I dare not condemn them confidently, yet I trust such is their Charity, to allow me in Modesty to dissent from them. First, because I hold it a good rule, not rashly to condemn the extraordinary Acts of the Saints, when they are not evidently in Scripture condemned; it is Saint *Austin's* Rule. Next, because of Saint *Stephen's* Testimony,

mony, who, *Acts 7.* expresseth so much, that this was a *preludium*, an Evidence that God was to send him to be their Deliverer. I am certainly assured that God did not think it a fit way by *Moses* and the People of *Israel's* Sword to work his Deliverance. But forty years after sent *Moses* cloathed with his immediate Commission, to command *Pharaoh* his Vicegerent to let his people go; and authorized *Moses* his Vice-Roy over his own People, that so the Peoples obedience to his Servant *Moses*, and to the word delivered in his Name, might be without check or wrong of Conscience in regard of their Allegiance. It is very observable and conducible to our Purpose, that God did not deliver his people by the wisdom of *Moses*, or strength of the People, or any act that way of theirs, but did with an high hand by his own immediate Might and Power. God thereby declaring to us, that before he would authorize his own People to do it, which had been a bad president for ever for Rebellion, he would rather put himself to pains to work extraordinary and wonderful Miracles.

So in the Book of the *Judges*, when the people were delivered over into the hands of their Enemies, because of their Sins, He never warranted and authorized the ordinary Judges or Community to be their Deliverers, but the Text saith expressly, that when they groaned under their Oppression, and repented of their Sins, God raised up a Judge. Is not this a real proof, God will not have inferior Judges, or the Community, to rectifie what is amiss, but we must in patience wait till he provide lawful means, some Sovereign power immediately sent by himself to do it? in which course in his ordinary Providence he will never be deficient, although the extraordinary way be ceased, if we

will repent us truly of our Sins, and wait in patience for the Salvation of our God. Is it not worth your Labour to observe when the gracious Deliverance came to *Israel* from the Captivity of *Babylon*, which lasted seventy years, that his people had no hand, no part in it, not to contribute the least Auxiliary help, but God effected it by the hand of *Cyrus* his Anointed, immediately and totally? Appeareth it not clearly by this, how careful God hath been in his Providence, that People may not right themselves by their own doing, not when they are under greatest Pressures, highest Oppressions? For what were the Kings of *Babylon*, but to speak in our Adversaries diction, *Tyranni cum titulo*? Who acquired Sovereignty over them by Conquest, their Consent being ~~ex~~ *ex* ~~claw~~ *claw* ~~claw~~ *claw* voluntarily, involuntarily.

Lastly, for these popular Reformations lately so much cryed up, as the best, the most divine, the most warrantable, methinks are most unwarrantably magnified. It is not to be denied, but people are much taken with such Doctrines, and are very ambitious to be Reformers of Church and State: And subtle factious Spirits have great Advantages to work on the People and their weak Understandings, for there can be no Government either in Church or State, so eminently perfect, where something might not be wished to be amended. No Government is so commodious, which is not attended with some Incommodities; that as the *Comick* saith, *aut hæc cum illis habenda, aut illa cum his amittenda sunt*: from those Inconveniences in Government, crafty and discontented men take occasion to press upon the weaker sort (which is most numerous) the present Inconveniences, shew them their Interest, how in Conscience they are bound, and by God war-

ranted to put to their hand, promise them not only a share in the glorious Work of Reformation, but also to free them from all Errours and Pressures, to mould and frame such an *Utopia* in the State, and such a *Paradise* of the Church, that shall not want any thing but Christ to come and reign actually and personally amongst them, which they expect, as I hear, and have defined the time. When people are deceived thus and transported, these *Achitophels*, *Absaloms*, and *Sheba's* desire the Assistance of the people to bring this happy Change about. They obtain it, engage their Souls by Oaths, Covenants, and Perjury, and engage them so much in Treason and Rebellion, that Life, State, Fortune, and Honour lie at the Stake; come off they cannot. By which means they get into their hands surreptitiously an arbitrary Power, the thing they most feared, most abhorred, and practise it too. And although the people are made to believe, that they all and the whole, are interessed, yet really and truly some few domineer. They command what Supplies they will, of Men, Arms, and Monies; seize all Forts, press all Horses, &c. and that in that way, in that quantity, they think necessary, which must be obeyed; otherwise they are not sufficiently enabled to bring about such a great Work, Reformation of Church and State, and Preservation of the people. This is the way by which these Principles find easie Admittance upon popular Affections, but cunning Subtilty doth so abuse them, that they are cheated out of their Wits, and follow Courses destructive to themselves, and bring upon them the Evils they most feared. It is not reason that will right these deceived and abused Fools, παθήματα must be μαθήματα, καὶ πάλιν πῶς ἂν ἴσως ἐγνώ, Misery will be the first competent Instructor on

structor to undeceive them. The Doctrine and Reasons we first bring to the contrary of this Tenet, we know assuredly they will not relish them, but the contrary use will be made, to incense a mad people and make them more mad: yet Truth forceth us to speak; for *Ubi resipuerint*, when they come to their Wits, they will curse their *Gamaliels*, and forsake their Principles.

First then, I demand of those who so magnifie popular Reforms, as the only best, most perfect and absolute Remedies of what is amiss in Church or State; who that hath read Scripture, or by Experience hath remarked the Temper and Constitution of the Multitude, can believe that Almighty God hath committed such a Trust to them? Is there one of a thousand, if you trust *Jab* or *Solomon*, amongst them of understanding? Was ever any act done by them but in a *tumultuary way*? And is not their Reformation attended with *Fury and Violence*, Impiety against God, sacred Persons, sacred Places, sacred Things? Have not these mis-called Reforms been acted, prosecuted with open and crying Injustice, not only against innocent but well deserving men?

Secondly, I desire them to shew me in Scripture, or in Ecclesiastical and authentick Story any popular Reforms of Church or State, happy and successful: what they alledge in this last Age, are the Instances controverted; and till they give instances *extra propositum*, not questioned, by their Favour they only beg the Question. When God established both Policy and Church, after the Deliverance of his People from the House of Bondage, he would not do it, but by *Moses* his Sovereign Viceroy, *King of Jeshurun*, Deut. 33. *Joshua* did the like: *Jos. 24*. The Judges raised by

God as they delivered the people from their Slavery, so they rectified what was amiss in Church and State. What Desolations were there in Church and State in *Saul's* Reign? Both State and Church in the Solemnity and Sincerity of the Worship in the days of *David* came to their *Zenith*, to their highest Perfection and Beauty: Read you, I pray you, of any doing in it but by *David* the King, with the Advice and Direction of some Church-men? Afterwards when it was corrupted, who made the Reformation? None but he who was King or Sovereign: as *Joash*, 2 *Chron.* 24. *Ezekias*, 2 *Chron.* 29, 30, 31. *Josias*, 2 *Chron.* 34. 35. *Ezra*, *Esd.*

To make Covenants against King or Sovereign, pretending or intending, if you will so, the Reformation of Religion, where read you it? The first Covenant of a people formed into a politick Body, is that you read *Exod.* 34. Had either the Community, the collective or representative Body any other hand in it than to obey, as *Moses* King of *Jeshurun* commanded? *Joshua* made another, *Josh.* 24. consider the place, and see if either *Tables* or *Parliament* framed it, urged it. You have another, 2 *Chron.* 15. but it is done and pressed by the royal Authority of *Asa the King*. You have another, 2 *Chron.* 34. but it is the Act of *Josiah the King*. The like you read of *Esdra*, *Esd.* 10. If any object the Covenant of *Jehojada* in the Non-age of *Joash*; Let them be pleased to remember that this was the High Priests act, not as High Priest, but as Governour to the King. By the same Power he did it, by which he dethroned *Athaliah*, armed the Subjects, and enthroned *Joash*. Shew me one Covenant in the book of God, which was made without the King, except it be a Covenant with Hell and Death;

or

or as *Judas* covenanted with the *Jews* to sell and betray his Master. Or such a Covenant as the Prophet *Hosea* speaketh of, *Chap. 10. vers. 3, 4.* For now they shall say, we have no King, because we feared not the Lord; what then should a King do unto us? They have spoken words, swearing falsely, in making a Covenant; thus Judgment springeth up as Hemlock in the furrows of the field.

Lastly, Reflect upon Popular acts invading Sovereignty, and attempting Reformation, and you will find them as sinful, as little successful, as Kings of Popular Election. It is recorded in *Exodus*, that *Moses* the Sovereign of the People of *Israel* being absent forty dayes in the Mountain with God; the People, notwithstanding that they had lately sworn a lawful Covenant, forced *Aaron* to make them Gods, a molten Calf, and forsake the true and living God: *Exod. 11.* Here you have a glorious popular Reformation in Religion. Take another Reformation in the State, and see if it be better. The People of *Israel* living under the happy Government of *David*, by the suggestions of *Absalom* and his fellow-Traytors, possessed a Prejudice of *David* and his Government, that Justice was not done, and the State might be better ordered, assemble without Warrant of the King (a Treason if any thing else, if we look on Scripture) to *Absalom*, under pretence of a Vow, shake off *David*, and acknowledge themselves Subjects to *Absalom* the Traytor, the Usurper: *1 Sam. 15.* The ten Tribes after the death of *Solomon* supplicate *Rehoboam* for a Redress of their Grievances; not answered to their mind, rebel against *Rehoboam*: To strengthen their Kingdom and Policy, they set up a new Religion, make new Priests of their own. Their Religion is the same

their Fathers attempted in the Wilderness, *Exod. 32.* and this is the *second glorious Reformation* of Calves-worship: what was the issue, I pray you? it pursued them to their utter extirpation. What can be said of that abominable act of the *Jews*, who to save themselves condemned Christ? Are not *Communities* subject to dangerous Inclinations from private Incitements? Are not their *Representatives* subject to mis-leading *Factions*, and ambitions of private ends? They are too much transported with the love of a popular estate, who can so over-rule their Understandings, as to force themselves to think, that *Communities*, or their *Representative* bodies, are not molested or transported with corrupt judgments and affections for private ends.

To conclude, Seeing then to establish the People to be the last and best Remedy to rectifie all Errours in State, in Church, establisheth so many Absurdities and Paradoxes, and hath no warrant by Scripture, sound Reason, or Experience, we can neither believe it, nor approve it: for to aver and affirm that a *Community* *diffusive, collective, or representative*, is a perfect Republick to preserve it self, and to right what is amiss, abstracting the notion of a Republick, from the Sovereign Governour or Governours, is a notion not imaginable, nor ever used by any who ever wrote or spoke right in Policy. It secureth the multitude from Errour both in matters concerning Church and State: There is neither Precept nor Practice in Holy Writ to warrant that the multitude have such a superintendent Power above their Sovereign. Nay, Scripture commandeth us the contrary, not to assume this Power, or to resist the Higher Powers, under no less pain than Damnation. This Maxim resolves into infidelity,

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fidelity, that we trust not God can do it, or will do it; and into Impatience, that we will not wait patiently till he do it. Christian obedience and Sobriety teacheth us to reserve the rectifying of the Sovereign, and his Errours in Government, to God himself. We must not serve God against his Will, nor without an express Warrant for our doing so. By doing, as our new Statists warrant us, we run into Rebellion, and lose a good Conscience in dutiful obedience and humble submission, and prejudice God of that glory he expects by our tryals. We must not do evil that good may come of it, nor upon pretences of good intentions and good effects to follow upon such courses, prove our selves to be proud Masters, and forsake to be Gods humble Servants. In all Deliverances God bestowed upon his own People, in his wonderful Providence he effected them, either by his own immediate hand, or by some other hands, not permitting or allowing to his People any share in the work, foreseeing how we would make it, if it had been otherwise, a bad president for rebellious courses. Popular Reformations are neither warrantable nor successful. The multitude are most of all unfitted for preserving Church or State. In Scripture we have no Reformations recorded, but only such as have been acted by the authority of the Sovereign. Many popular tumultuary courses we find attempted and effected by the People, to the hurt and ruine of Church and Commonwealth. Wherefore let every one, and all of Subjects, be subject to Superiour Powers, in obedience to that is good, and in Patience suffering what is evil, waiting patiently till God in his appointed time send relief, and deliver his Church and us from pressing and oppressing Evils.

C H A P. XVI.

Whercin is examined that Maxim, Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto. And the other, That the People may be without a King, but a King cannot be without People.

THis vulgar Maxim, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto*, was one of the Laws of the XII Tables.

It was made for a Democracy, and hath in it a good and warrantable sense, if it be rightly taken in its proper meaning. But as it is abused and perverted by our *Miso-monarchical Statists* and *Sectaries*, it hath been the Mother of much mischief.

The *Sectaries* who abuse it, understand it so largely, at least make the People conceive so, that all Government and Superiority in Governours and Superiours, is primely, nay, only for the Subjects and Inferiours good. This holds not; for some Government and Governours are by God and Nature appointed for the mutual and inseparable good of the Governour and Governed, of the Superiour and Inferiour, as in *maritali regimine*, & in *paterno*, as in the marital and fatherly Government. Some Governments are primely, principally, and properly for the good of the Superiour and Governour, as in *herili dominio*, in the Government of a Lord and Servant; where the good and benefit of the Servant is but *secondary and consecutively* intended; it is not the principal end, but the external and adventitious; as the gain that cometh to a Phylician by his Practice, is not the proper internal and principal end of his Art, Science, and Practice, but

consequitur ad medicinam, it followeth and attendeth his Skill and Practice.

What can our Adversaries say of a Title acquired to a Kingdom by lawful Conquest? That such a Title is good, and a King may be lawful King by Conquest, meerly, without the consent of the People, is so evident in Scripture as it cannot be denied. In this case, the good and benefit of the Conquerour is the prime thing and principal. The Conquerour may dispose of it at pleasure for his own good, as *Solomon* did give *Cabul* to *Hiram*.

Moreover, according to the Jesuit's and Puritan's grounds, as a man may render himself totally under the Power of a Master, without any conditions or limitations, or bounds whatsoever; why may not the Body of a People do the like, to have Peace and Safety, surrender themselves fully into the Power of a King? May not a Lord of many great Mannors and Lands, (if the Laws of the Countrey do not forbid it) admit no man to live and gain by living within his Territories and Countreys, but upon condition of a full surrender of himself, his Posterity, and all belonging to him, into his Lords power? Doth not *Tacitus* tell us, that anciently amongst the *Germans* every Head of the Family was *Father, King, and Priest*; and that all the *Tenants* of his Territories had no more corn for meat, no more number of Flocks, no more for use of cloaths, than it pleased their Lord to allow them? *Suam quisque familiam, suo penates regis, frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis colono injungit, & servus haecenus patet.*

May not a disorderly multitude, without order and government, or any subordination at all (this is impossible, but let us take it as probable, because imaginable)

nable) conceiving Safety and Good to themselves, totally surrender themselves into the power of one to rule over them hereditarily? Or may not a people in a formed and framed politick Body, upon the Receipt of a great Benefit, as Deliverance by one from a mighty Oppression, surrender themselves thus totally to their Deliverer and his Successors? It is not improbable, that the Israelites did offer some such Condition to *Gideon* and his Posterity, for the great Deliverance they had from the *Midianites* by his Sword, *Judges 8*. Did not the *Campani* in this way, if we may trust *Livie*, subject themselves totally to the people of *Rome*? *Populum Campanum*, saith he in the words of their chief Heads, *Urbenque Capuam, agros, delubra deum, divina, humanaque omnia in vestram P. C. ditionem dedimus*. O noble Senators, we surrender and give up unto your Dition and Power, the people of *Campania*, our City *Capua*, our Lands, the Temples of our Gods, and what divine and humane things are ours. By what is said, it is more than apparent, that this, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, Let the Good and Safety of the People be the supreme Law: is not an universal Dictate of Nature, a paramount Law, which is universally verified of all Government and Governours.

This Speech is as much abused, when by these new Statists it is applied to Monarchy. I most heartily grant that the Preservation of the Peace and Safety of Subjects and People is the *prime end* in the Constitution of all Government, but it is not the *sole and adequate end*. The complete, adequate, and perfect end of Government in Monarchy, is *Salus Regis & Populi*, the Safety of King and People. Notwithstanding the Safety and Good of the people may be called the *prime and principal end* in the Constitution of *Monarchical Government*,

ment, because it is most agreeable with the *joynt Interest of King and People*. It is a word exceeding well be-
 seeming a King, to say, *Salus Populi suprema lex esto*,
 let the Safety of the People be the *Paramount Law*.
 There is no Doubt that the King ought to proportion
 all his Laws to this end, this is just, this is necessary,
 this is honourable, this is advantageous to the King:
 who that is wise, will not provide as much as he is
 able, for the Good, Safety, Plenty, and Peace of those,
 in whose happiness is his Glory, and in whose Destru-
 ction his own is involved? And on the other hand it
 becometh Subjects well to say, *Salus Regis suprema lex*
esto, and to proportion all their Obedience, Endeavours,
 and Actions for the Safety, Honour, Power,
 Happiness, and Glory of their King. It is impossible
 the Subject can have Peace or Safety where the Sove-
 reign and his Prerogative are weakened so that he can-
 not command and protect.

To reason from the one part of the end of Monar-
 chical Government, the Safety, and the Good of the
 Subjects, to the Destruction or weakening of the other
 part of the end, of the power of Sovereignty, and the
 royal Prerogative, is the Sophism which the School
 calleth *a divisio*. Nor can we imagine a *possible or pro-*
bable Existence of the good and right of the Subject,
 without a *pre-existence* of the entire Sovereignty and
 Prerogative in the King: this is easily demonstrable, if
 we consider what was the prime end of the Institution
 or Constitution of Kings. By uniform and universal
 Consent it is acknowledged to be for this purpose
 primely to preserve people in Peace, Plenty, and Safe-
 ty. If the King then be not authorized and furnished
 with sufficient power to work this effect, how can
 the People expect it? By the Suffrage of our anti-mo-
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narchical opposites it is granted, that the Multitude and People were at first necessitated to submit themselves *unius imperio*, to the Government of one King, and to commit themselves, their Lives, their Laws, their Fortunes, to his Trust and Power; because they knew such was their Weakness, that they had not Wisdom enough to rule themselves, to foresee, and prevent Dangers, nor Power enough to protect them from wrong of the more powerful either living amongst them, or nearly adjoynd to them. And for this cause in their Opinion accorded that for Honour and Power he should be sufficiently enabled to act and perfect all these acts of Government, and to effect and produce those ends, *his own and their Happiness*; nor doubted they to entrust him with Majesty. (the word Majesty speaketh two things, *summum honorem & summam potestatem*, supremest Honour, and supremest Power) being assured that his Interest was so involved in theirs, that he could not chuse but most earnestly and carefully endeavour this end: by which premisses, (which are their own) it is most certain, that *Salus Populi*, the Safety of the People, issueth from *Salus Regis*, the Safety of the King, no less than the Life of the natural Body from the Soul that enliveneth it: notwithstanding we think they should speak more divinely, if with the dialect of holy Scripture they would say, that Almighty God knowing that no Society of mankind could be, nor Happiness in that Society without Government, ordained for this, and that Government should be, and the Governours entirely endowed and enabled with Power and Honour to do it; and that conformable to his own Government, at first he in Paradise fixed this Government in the person of one *Adam*, and provided for the Continuance and Succession

on of it, that it should be transmitted to the first-born in default of the Father. God knew it well, that it was better not to be at all, than to be without Government : and that weak Government is the equivalent of Anarchy and no Government. Saint Paul knew not how *Quiet, Peace, Godliness, or Honesty*, could be without Government. I do think our Puritans are not so much in love with School-tenets, as to hold, that *Quovis modo esse*, nay, *Pœnale esse* is better *quàm non esse*; seeing Scripture hath spoken the contrary, that it is better never to have been born, better that a mill-stone were put about their neck and cast into the Sea, than to be in a pœnal condition, and that some shall seek to dye for ease, but shall not find it. Heathen Politicians tell us, *Tyrannis potior Anarchiâ*, Tyranny is better than no Government.

Scripture is plain and powerful enough for this truth, that no safety can be to mankind, without the safety of Sovereignty, and of the Prerogative of Governour and Government, *Exod. 20*. It is the first Precept of the second Table, *Honora patrem, &c. Honour thy Father*; where, by Father is principally (according to the Commentaries of Ancient and Modern Divines) meant the King : then followeth, *Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, &c.* To intimate to us, that neither Life, nor Chastity, nor Goods, nor Honour, nor Fame, nor any thing else can be preserved, except the King have his Right.

The expressions of Scripture are admirably emphatical to import, that in the King and his strength is all our Safety, our Life, our Happiness. The King is called, *Lament. 4. 20. The breath of our nostrils*; this place, it seemeth, alludeth to that, *Gen. 11. 7. He is called*

called, the *Head of his Subjects*, 2 Sam. 21. 17. He is the *light of his People*, 2 Sam. vers. 2. He is their Shepherd and Pastour, *Psal.* 78. 71. The Heathen call Kings *πομπένας τῷ λαῷ*, They are the *Nurse-fathers of the Church*, *Isai.* 49. 23. and 40. 26. The King is the *Head-stone of the corner*, *Psal.* 118. 23. The same in the State, that Christ is in the Church, *Isai* 28. 16. 1 *Pet.* 11. 6. The Greek word *βασιλεὺς* implieth as much, that he is the very bottom and foundation upon which the publick good of the whole State, and the private good of every one is founded and built. Excellent expressions they be, diametrally opposed to the Divinity and Policy of this miserable Age. The King is the breath of our nostrils, then no Life without him; He is our Head, then all Life, Sense, and Perfection in him, all Motion from him, and the influence of his Government; he is our Light, nothing then but Egyptianical darkness and blindness without him, without his Government; he is our Shepherd, then no maintenance, no entertainment without him; he is the Corner-stone, then nothing but he can tye mankind together in a peaceable and comfortable Society; nay, he is the Foundation, the Corner-stone, and Head-stone of the Corner, upon whom all is built and grounded, in whom all are conjoyned, and by whom all are protected. Turn it over again; take away the King, you take away our Life, our breath; weaken him, we faint, we pant; hurt the Head, you distemper all the Body; weaken the Head, and you feeble both hand and foot, and all parts and members of the Body; smite the Shepherd and the Flock will be scattered; if the foundations be destroyed, what can the Righteous do? If the corner-stone be pulled out, the side-walls and whole Fabrick must fall; if the Head-corner-stone be removed, there

is no protection against the Tempest, but Rain and storm will spoil the whole Building.

Saint Paul hath a short, but a most pithy expression of the good issueth from the Supreme Power upon all, Rom. 13. 3. *Tibi in bonum*, he is the Minister of God to thee for good : this Indefinite *Tibi*, *to thee*, implieth as much as the Minister of God by his immediate Ordinance and Ordination, *is for thy good whosoever thou be* ; be thou Nobleman, be thou Gentleman, be thou Citizen, be thou Countrey-man, be thou Church-man, be thou Lay-man, he is for the good of all, of the whole Politick Body joynly, and he is for the good of every individual and particular Person singly ; for our good from God they are sent, for our good to us they come. If Kings were not, we should be as the Filhes of the Sea, the greater destroying the smaller, or as the Beasts of the Forest, the strong destroying the weaker, Hab. 1. 14. Saint Chrysostom explaining these words, 1 Tim. 2. 2. *ἵνα ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσυχίαν εἶεν διδύχαται, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκείνων σωτηρία ἡμῶν ἀνεμενία*. Where the Apostle saith, *that we may live a quiet and peaceable life*, that is to say, saith the holy Father, *Our Security subsists in their Safety*.

It is worthy your notice taking, that in the Book of Judges, where it is recorded, that all disorder was in the Church and State, the reason is so often given and repeated, *Because in those dayes there was no King in Israel* ; you read it cap. 17. 6. & 18. 1. & 19. 1. & 21. 25. Which words import not simply, that there was no Government in those dayes, none can be so stupid to imagine it, but the Spirit of God intimateth two things to us : 1. The one is, that they wanted Monarchy, the most excellent of Governments. 2. The other is, that the Government then Aristocrati-

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tical was so weakened, that in Church and State nothing was sound, the grossest Enormities did abound, and there was no strength in Authority to right it: Review the story, There was no King this time, and consequently, there was all mischief this time, and therefore a fit time to shake off the old, and bring in a new Religion. *Micah* and *his old doting Mother* will have a Religion of their own, an Idol of their own, a trencher-Chaplain of their own, there is nothing to let it. No matter for sacred Orders, if a Levite may be had it is better, otherwise it skilleth not much. The reason is given in the Text, *In diebus illis, &c.* in those ill dayes there was no King in Israel. I wish we were so happy that these Times of ours had no resemblance with that time. Well, but it is no great matter for Religion, if every man can enjoy his Liberty, his Honour, his Peace, live in Safety, what is Religion to us? If this be Religion, these Times want not Professours too too many. It will not rest here, although every man have liberty, or licence rather in Anarchy, to have and to profess what Religion he will, the same Scripture telleth us, *where no King is*, Rapine and Spoil will be; where no King is, plundering will be good Justice; every man's Lands, Revenues and Chatels may be *fortiter occupanti*, the stronger may disseize the weaker; you shall have the *Tribe of Dan* to spoil too. Nor is this all, *The men of Gibeah* will abuse the Levite's Wife, nay, do it avowedly, abuse her to death; it is no great danger to act and do what mischief you will, *where no King is*. No man's Soul, Wife, Life, or Goods can be secured, *where no King is*. Idols may be erected, Murder may be acted and allowed, Men robbed of their Goods, and all this good Service, *for the glory of God and the good Cause*. Consider again, how uni-

universal these Mischiefs are, you have a *Micah* a private man, *Gibeab* a City, *Dan* a Tribe, all out of order and course. Religion is defaced, Justice is abused, Honesty and Civil moral Conversation is shaken off; Dishonesty, Impiety, Uncleanness are avowed. Again consider, *Micah* was at Mount *Ephraim*, in the midst of the Land, *Gibeab* was at one end of the Countrey, and *Dan* at the other, so that these Mischiefs were not confined to one corner, but were spread over all the Land. And seeing Scripture repeats it, let us repeat it too, all these Disorders, all these Mischiefs were, because in those dayes there was no King in Israel. Turn it over again, No better way to keep Religion sincere and incorrupt, mens Lives and Wives, Honour, Goods and Possessions in Safety; to secure them from Murder, Abuse, Oppression, than by Kings. No doubt, Priests there were then, but either they would not serve at all, or then the Priests were over-awed by the disorderly and sinful multitude, *Hos. 4.* or did prescribe their Text, give them Commentaries, taught them what to say, what to preach. No doubt, in those dayes Judges they had, but Justice was not done, or if done, at pleasure; otherwise Judges were posted and signed with a *nigrum theta*, marked to be stoned by a rascally multitude. Though Priests be in the Church, and Judges be in the Land, they are not able to guard the Publick or Private from wrong; wherefore it is most consonant with Scripture to say, *Salus Regis suprema Populi salus*, the Safety of the King, and his Divine Royal Prerogative, is the safest Sanctuary for the People. *Ubi non est gubernator populus corruet*, so readeth St. Hierom Solomon's words. I refer my self in this to the Consciences and Experience of the King's Subjects, what hath been the security or comfort they have had

in Person, State, or Goods, since the Lords Anointed, the best of Kings, hath been wronged. O if they durst speak! O if they would speak!

The Prophet *Hoseah*, cap. 3. 4. threatneth as the greatest of Judgments in this world, *That the children of Israel shall be many dayes without a King*. Listen I pray you, to what followeth, *and without a Prince*, that is, there shall be no Nobility; and what more? *and without a Sacrifice*; that is, there shall be no Religion, no true Priest. The same Prophet, cap. 10. 3. sheweth they shall have no King, because they feared not the Lord. The Prophet *Jeremy*, Lam. 11. 9. lamenteth first, that their *Kings were captives*; then, that they had no Nobility, for *their Princes were captives too*; then, *the Law is no more*; Justice is gone with the King; and then, *the Prophets find no Vision from the Lord*; Religion is gone too. Will not all this lead us to better thoughts, a better esteem of *Salus Regis*, of the Safety of the King, the preferring of his Divine Right, and Royal Prerogative? It may be our Zealots account those Prophets no better than Court Parasites.

Cyprian, or some other ancient Author masked under his Name, summeth up shortly but pithily the happiness of People in a King, *de 12 abusib. Seculi*, cap. 9. in fine. *Est pax populorum, tutamen patriæ, immunitas plebis, munimentum gentis, cura languorum, gaudium hominum, temperies aeris, serenitas maris, terra fecunditas, solatium pauperum, &c.* The words are plain enough, they need no interpretation.

What mean they then who magnifie this Maxim, *Salus Populi suprema Lex esto*, Let the Safety of the People be the Supreme Law, to call it in a narrow sense, abstracting *salute Regis*, from the safety of the King,

King, *The transcendent axiom of all Politicks; the Paramount Law that giveth Law to all Laws whatsoever, that the Law of Prerogative it self is subservient to this Law, and were it not conducing therunto, it were not necessary nor expedient?* Some more superlatively excessive commendations the *Observer* and others give unto this Maxim; which how they cohere with what we have brought from Scripture, and said by its warrant, I humbly submit to the intelligent, to the impartial Reader; and come to consider the no less lame, than extravagant consequences the *Observer* deduceth from this mis-understood and abused Maxim. They be four, which when we look upon them inwardly, are such as never Saint of God, nor sound Politician thought of before; we shall follow him in his order.

The first Consequence that he knits with this Antecedent, *The Safety of the People is the Supreme Law, is an, Ergo, The King is bound in duty to promote all and every one of his Subjects to all happiness.* Certainly, there is more in the Conclusion than is virtually included in the Premisses; for when *Salus Populi*, the Safety of the People, to which the King is tied, to conclude *omnis felicitas populi*, all happiness of the People, and with that large extent, to all and every one, may well be answered with a *non sequitur*, that the Consequence is lame: the reason is clear, *Salus populi* may subsist without *Felicitas Populi*, *Felicitas dicit quid majus*; the Safety of the People may subsist without the Felicity of the People, for Felicity of the People is the Safety of the People, and somewhat more. I demand of the *Observer* and his Complices, who ever heard that either by the *Law of God, Nature, or common Equity*, the King is bound to promote all and every of

his Subjects to all Happiness? God is not so rigorous a Task-master: nor is the notion of the word [*protect*] either in it's native or used Sense, to which the King is bound, so large, as to tie him to promote all and every Subject to all happiness. It is not imaginable, the tenderest-hearted Father or Mother can do this to their best beloved Child, nor doth God or Nature require it. Doth the *Observer* by such Consequences intend to make a Kings charge intolerable, God unjust to impose it, a King unable to do it, and resolves to condemn all Kings who do not so provide for the Happiness of all and every one of his Subjects in the highest measure? Who will deny but every King is bound to level all his Actions, Intentions, and Endeavours, for the Peace, Plenty, and Safety of his Subjects in common? But to put this Burthen on the King which neither he nor his Fathers were able to bear, is too hard a measure. We may expect this from his Goodness and Bounty; we cannot charge it upon him as necessary, and incumbent to him of Duty.

Are not all and every one of Subjects by Duty and Oath tyed to *Salus Regis*, to provide for his Safety, Honour, Wealth, and Power? Are not we sworn to it in the *Oath of Allegiance*, to assist and defend all Priviledges, Preeminences, and Rights belonging to *His Highness, his Heirs, and Successors*, or annexed to the *Imperial Crown of this Realm*? If all have not taken this Oath, all born in his Majesties Dominions are bound to it; of all it may be actually exacted: and the *Statute 5. Eliz. cap. 1.* ordains that all Barons, Knights, Citizens, Burgesses elected for the Parliament, who shall not take the *Oath of Allegiance made 1. Eliz. at their Entry in the Parliament House*, shall have no Voice in Parliament, but be construed, as if they had never been

been elected, and suffer such Pains and Penalties, as if they had presumed to sit in Parliament without Election, Return, or Authority. By this Oath mentioned in the Statute, they are bound to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Queens Highness, her Heirs, and lawful Successors, and to their Power assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Priviledges, Preeminences, and Authorities, belonging to the Queens Highness, her Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this Realm: or likewise by their Oath, 3. Jac. being bound to defend him and his lawful Successors to the uttermost of their Power against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person, Crown and Dignity, by reason of any Sentence or Declaration flowing from the Pope, or otherwise, and to their best Endeavour to discover and make known to his Majesty, his Heirs, and Successors all Treasons, and trayterous Conspiracies, which they shall know, or hear to be against him or any of them. Here you see all Subjects and every one to the uttermost of their Power, are bound to assist and defend the Kings Right and Prerogative, and that none can enter the Houses of Parliament till actually they swear it: will it therefore from hence follow, that all and every one of his Majesties Subjects, at least such as have entered the Houses of Parliament, all and every one of them are for-sworn, who have intended or attempted any thing besides, or who intending or doing it hath not raised him to the highest degree and pitch of Honour, Glory and Power? In this case I am hopeful the Observer, like Judah, will be more favourable to himself and his Patrons, than he is in the other to his Sovereign: Who, before these new Statists, that ever wrote the Charge of a King, bound him to promote all and every one of his Subjects to all kind and highest Degree

of political and temporal Happiness? Is it in the Power of the most puissant Monarch upon Earth to advance all his Subjects capable and deserving men to the highest pitch of Happiness and Honour? *Parcius ista viris, &c.*

To shut up all that concerneth this first absurd Consequence drawn from this abused Maxim, I intreat the *Observer* to remember that Almighty God did never judge it fit to entrust the People with their own Safety; but in a subordinate way, hath committed this Trust to his Anointed, his Vicegerent upon Earth: from whence issueth this Consequence, that *Salus Regis est salus populi*, The Safety of the King is the Safety of the People: as *Salus Animæ* is *salus Corporis*, the Safety of the Soul is the Safety of the Body. The Fathers judged it so; see *Justin Martyr quest. & resp. ad Orthod.*, q. 138. καὶ ὡς σύγκειται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἕτως καὶ ἡ βασιλεία σύγκειται ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν βασιλευμένων. This holy Father knew no other case of a Kingdom, than that the King is the Soul, and the Subjects the Body. Let the *Observer* judge then, where the Safety is most considerable: and learn from *Salust*, *Animi imperio, corporis servitio utimur*; or from *Tacitus*, *Nempe iis, that is, Imperatoribus, diu Imperium dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.* And the Heathen will learn him to acknowledge, that the Honour and Safety of the King, his Glory, and entire Prerogative is the Transcendent *ἀνωθεν* of all Politicks, the paramount Law, that giveth Law to all Laws concerning private men, their Lives, Estate, and Honour; and that all Subjects are to promote the Sovereign Right and Prerogative to the utmost of their Power, as the publick Soul of the Kingdom, and the Breath of their Nostils.

The second Corollary, which the *Observer* deduceth out of this Principle, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, is, that it were strange if the people subjecting themselves to command should aim at any thing but their own Good in the first and last place. This Consequence presupposeth two Errors, the one is, that the people are the immediate Authors and Donors of Sovereignty, which we have already refuted: the other is, that the Conveyance of Sovereignty is by Trust, and that in that Portion and proportion the people please, the error of which we will by God's grace discover in our third Question. To take this off briefly, I ask of the *Observer*, that seeing God hath ordained Rule and Subjection, and directeth mankind to their greatest Convenience by Government; and seeing God and Nature teach, and all do acknowledge that the Good, Plenty, Peace, and Safety of the people cannot be effected or attained to, except the King be proportioned to so high a degree of Honour, Wealth, and Power, that as Father he may protect all, administrate Justice, secure from Oppression and Sedition at home, and from Invasion abroad; and have Maintenance proportionable to these ends, whether or not in Order of Nature, in the first place it is necessary that this Power, Honour, and Maintenance be secured to the King, without which we cannot expect Safety, Peace, or Good to the Subject? Except we have made a Divorce betwixt our selves and Reason, we must grant this Truth. If you will trust Saint *Chrysostom*, hear him speak it upon *Rom. 13.* upon these words, *He is the Minister of God for good unto thee*, ὡς συνεργὸς ἐστὶν ἡμῖν καὶ βοηθὸς, καὶ ὡς τὸ θεῷ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ἀπαστάλῃ; ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοίνυν ἐστὶν αἰδοῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὡς τὸ θεῷ ἀπαστάλη, καὶ ὅτι ὅτι τοῖς τῷ πρᾶγματι. In which words two things are

expressed ; first, that the King is immediately sent from God ; the other is, that he is sent for our Good ; no Safety then for us without him, and for both Respects we are to honour him, for all Good which we have by our Industry is by Influence from his Government, and he is a co-worker with us, and auxiliary in it. If this be not enough, turn to him, upon the words, *Not only for Wrath but for Conscience sake* ; where he saith, that the King is, εἰρήνης προξένος, καὶ οἰκονομίας πολιτικῆς, καὶ μυσία ἀγαθὰ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀρχῶν τέτων ταῖς πόλεσι γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀνέλης αὐτὰ παντὰ οἰχέσθαι, καὶ ἐ πόλεις, ἐ χωρία, ἐκ ἀγορῶν, ἐκ ἄλλο ἔδεν σῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀναλαμπήσονται, τῶν δυνατωτέρων τῶν ἀδυνεστέρας καὶ ταπεινόντων. He is the procurer of Peace, and Base and bottom of all politick œconomy. Innumerable good things come by Princes Government to the Society of men ; which if you take away, there can be no Cities, no Right to Lands or Revenues, no House and Family can subsist, no Commerce and Trade can be had, all shall be overturned, the stronger devouring the weaker. To St. Chrysostom's Suffrage joyn St. Augustine tom. 9. tract. 6. in Job. Tolle jura Imperatorum & quis audeat dicere, mea est illa villa, aut meus est ille servus, aut domus hæc mea est ? and a little after, Per jura Regum possidentur possessiones : the result is this, if you take away the Right of Kings, none dare say, the Lands are mine, this Servant is mine, or I have Right to this House. It is by the right of Kings that all our Rights and Possessions are secured. It is more than manifest then, that the Right of King and Subject, the Safety of King and Subject, are naturally conjoyned, and so intimately involved the one in the other, that in the moral Notion they

they may be esteemed *identically the same*, no less than Soul and Body make up one identical, personal Subsistence; or at least, *se mutuo ponunt & tollunt*, destroy the Kings Right and Good, and with the same Act, the same blow, you destroy the Subjects too. If you provide not for the Safety of the King, you cannot possibly secure the Safety of the People. *What God hath conjoyned, let none put asunder.* Let it never then again be spoken or heard by Christians, that the good of the Subject is the *Alpha* and *Omega* in Government, and demandeth by right the first and last place.

The third Consequence is this, *That the King looking upon the whole State, reflecting upon what Graces he hath granted or may grant to his People, he cannot merit of it, and what he hath granted, if it be for the good of his People, it hath proceeded but from his meer Duty.* Well, by the *Observer* we see the King is placed in no better condition than a *Servant*, nay, an *unprofitable Servant*, for when he has done all he can do, he has onely done his Duty. By these means, *Grace* is not a fit compellation for Kings; *Acts of Justice* he may do, but no *Acts of Grace*. *O misera Regum fors!* On the other part, the People are stated in that sublime condition, that they may *supererogate* with their Prince, by doing many Acts of Bounty, Favour, and Grace. By this Assertion, a Prince is disabled from doing any *courtesie* to his Subjects. Before this miserable distempered Age, was it ever heard, but that it was the *greatest happiness* of a King, that he was able, and *his greatest glory*, to oblige his People by Acts of *Grace, Bounty, and Courtesie*? But now the World is so turn'd topsie turvy, that when he has done all he is able, he hath onely discharged the duty of a *faithful and trusty Servant*. Turn the Tables, and then see what

what you will judge of the throw, Do not all we Subjects owe Duty to the King? Are we not tied to advance his Honour? Yet upon extraordinary Services we believe we can deserve well both of King and Countrey. Will you not, *Observator*, allow the King the like measure? This Conceit is a popular Deceit, and not virtually onely, but also really, destroys the ground of Beneficence in a King, and the duty of Gratitude in a Subject. By this it appeareth, that it is a naked, nay, an hypocritical Complement, when both Houses in Parliament, after Graces granted, present their humble thanks, and heartily acknowledge *His Majesties gracious Favours*. Must not the like hold betwixt a Father and his Family? And shall we by these grounds be constrained to acknowledge all the Acts of a Father to his Family, to be no better than Acts of meer Justice and Duty? In the Dialect of Scripture, and Heathen Writers, *Homer. Odyss. 9.* Kings are Fathers. And yet the *Observator* standeth not to say, *That the Father is more worthy than the Son in Nature, and the Son is wholly a Debtor to the Father, and can by no merit transcend his Duty, nor challenge any thing as due from his Father, for the Father doth all his Offices meritoriously, freely, and unexpectedly.* We will not be at pains now to examine this, onely I demand, if this hold according to his Judgment in a Father of a Family, how comes it to pass that it holds not in *Patre Patriæ*, in the Father of the Kingdom? The obligation to *Pater Patriæ*, to the Father of the Kingdom, is stronger, is straighter, than to *Pater Familie*, to our natural Father. And the School doth teach us, and all Divines besides, for ought I know, that we are bound to love the King *appreciative*, by esteem, more than our selves, although we cannot do it *intensiva*, with

with the same intension, and degree of affection. *David's* Subjects said to him, *Thou shalt not go forth with us to battel, for thou art better than a thousand of us*; that is, in sound meaning, than all of us. The *Observer* hath a quirk or trick rather for this, *that the King is not a Father to his People taken universally but singly*. Nothing could be said more absurdly. I pray you, is not the Father of many Sons no less Father universally to all than to every one? Is not the King bound no less to protect all his Subjects *universally*, than to protect every one *severally, singly*? Are not all bound no less *universally* than *singly*, to honour the King's sacred Person, obey his sacred Commands, and contribute to the maintenance of his Honour, Wealth, and Power, to assist and defend him in all Difficulties? If you will not acknowledge a subjection upon all *universally*, how can you tie the King to a protection of all *universally*? In Philosophy this is most absurd, for hereby you make *tot civitates in regno, quot subditos*, as many Kingdoms as there be particular and single Subjects; because the King and every Subject make up a perfect City or Kingdom. If it were not more absurd in Divinity, and contrary to God's Ordinance, we would not plead much nor press much the Absurdities of Philosophy. *Saul* and *David* in the holy diction of Scripture are called Heads and Captains of all the Tribes and People of God. Let never these consequences be more heard.

4. The fourth consequence is as impious and absurd as the other three; which is this, *That a Prince ought not to account it a strength and profit to him, which is a loss and wasting to the People*, (I agree to this with all my heart, but that which followeth I cannot relish) *nor ought he to think that perisheth to him which is granted*

ed to the People. This is most false: Hath not the King his own Right from Almighty God? Can he make it away without betraying Gods Right, and the Trust he hath put upon him, he being God's Vicegerent onely and Feoffee in trust? How can the Subject be free of Sacrilegious guiltiness to take it from him, if lavishly or inconsiderately he will make it away? This is not onely robbing of Sovereignty of its due, but *Divine usurpation, and intrusion upon Almighty God.* What one hath by trust from another, he cannot intitle another to it, till he have warrant from him who hath given the Trust. That the King hath some right incommunicable to the Subject, is so manifest, that he that will deny it, must deny Scripture. Our Lord and Master in the Gospel hath commanded to *Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, as unto God the things that are Gods.* This word ἀπόδοτε, *Render,* imports something peculiar; nay, it hath more in it, that if we will detain it, if we have assumed it, or would assume it, that by Christs Precept we are to restore him to his Right again. This the word *Render* intimates and commands, and consequently the King cannot part with it; and if the Subject hath usurped upon this Right, it is high Sacrilege to detain it. In this sense Kings, their Persons, their Charge, their Right, their Authority, their Prerogative, are by Scripture, by Fathers, by Jurists, called *Sacred*; because by Gods sacred Ordinance they are inherent in their Crowns, inseparably adherent to their Scepters, which if he grant away, he is no more King, than the Body is a living Creature after the separation of the Soul; and the Robbers and Cheaters of Kings out of these Rights are *Regicides.* Nor are these Prerogatives onely for the Excellency, Preheminency, and Honour of

of the King above his Subjects, but also to enable him for actuating his high Charge to Gods Glory and the Subjects good. These, as we shall by Gods Grace speak, *Quest. 4.* are as the Lawyers speak, *In indivisibili posita, que distabi non possunt, alienari non possunt minui non possunt*; that are so indivisible in themselves, and naturally and intrinsically inherent in the Crown, in his Sovereignty and Supremacy, that they cannot be made away, or so communicated to the Subject, *ut defluat radix supremæ potestatis*, to divest himself of them, *ad minuendam Majestatem*, to lessen Sovereign Majesty, although by Trust and delegate Power the Execution may be entrusted to others, *ad minuendam sollicitudinem*, to ease him of unsupportable burthen. These are fitly resembled by the Royal Crown, from which if you take away the least part, you spoil it so in its nature and shape, that it is no more a Crown; as King James of blessed Memory, and others have well expressed.

By what is said, I refer it to the Judgment of any that hath reason or common sense, whether or not it be true, that a King cannot make away to the Subject any of his Right without disadvantage; for by what we have said, it is more than apparent, that he hath a Right personally inherent in himself and his Successors, as a *depositum*, a trust from God, which he cannot part with, without betraying the Trust God hath committed to him, with which the Subject cannot meddle, without Sacrilege in the highest kind; and which cannot be done, without disabling Sovereignty from doing that Service to God and his People, with which he hath charged him.

Lest any mistake us, I resume what before I have said, That we maintain not that our King by this
Right

Right from Almighty God hath *Dominium despoticum* or *berile*, we plead onely for *patrum*; that is, that the Subject cannot without Sacrilege, Royal and Divine Usurpation, trench upon Sacred Prerogative of the King; no more can the King by any Right from Almighty God trench upon the *Liberty of the Person*, and the *Propriety of the Goods* of his Subjects, without presupposal of a *lawful act of Jurisdiction*: That is, if any or many of his Subjects transgress against him, his Laws, or common Equity, he may commit their Persons, take from them their Lives, seize upon their whole, or a part of their State, proportionable to the demerit of their Offence. Our Gracious Sovereign, blessed be God for it, will never wave that saying of *Seneca's*, *Imperium unius, Proprietas singulorum*: The Sacred Prerogative is the Kings, but it derogateth not from the Liberty and Property of the Subject: it must be entirely secured, that it may secure our Liberty and Property. How unequal and partial are we, to think the King may *prodigally waste away his Prerogative*, and we may *lawfully invade it*, because no Grant made to his People perilbeth to him, and yet upon the other part will maintain, that *the King cannot trench upon our Liberty and Property* without highest Tyranny and Oppression? *Medio tutissimus ibis*. Hold both, practise both; Let the King have his, and the People their Right; and Peace shall be upon *Israel*. King and People have their proper and peculiar, and yet several and distinct Rights. What Law? what Right? what Reason is it? that the King may, or should part with his sacred Right, and yet warrants the People to preserve their Rights, nay, to invade and challenge the King's Right? It feareth me, that high Sacrilege, robbing God his Anointed, and Holy Church, is not the least

least crying sin that hath brought upon us these Miseries; and many good men fear, that Kings giving too much way to Harpyes to rob God and his Church, have made a furious multitude to invade the Sovereignty of Kings, to teach Kings to be more zealous and careful to preserve Christ and his Churches Rights.

Let us remember that *God and true Policy* have so inseparably united and conjoyned the Interest of King and People, that they be almost altogether the same; upon which necessarily it followeth, that the people ought not to account it a game or strength to them, which they obtain and acquire by a Loss and wast of his Prerogative; nor ought they to think that perished to them, which is gained to him; and by which his Prerogative is strengthened, he more enabled to protect, and they the more secured in safety to enjoy Liberty and Propriety, with peace and plenty.

To reason *a salute populi*, from the Good and Gain of the people, to the weakning or destroying of Royalty and Sovereignty, is sophistical; it is that Sophism they call, *a dicto secundum quid*, or *a limitato ad absolutum*; to reason from one end of Government to the Destruction of the other, which is more excellent, and which effecteth and worketh the other, is totally to overthrow Royalty and Government. The compleat and adequate end of Monarchical Government, is as we have said, to preserve the Kings Prerogative entire, and the Liberty and Good of the Subject too. If any man reason after this Form, in the case betwixt the head and the body, the Wife and the Husband, he will soon discover the Fallacy of this Sophism. It is right, just, necessary, and honourable for a King to proportion his Laws and Government for the Good and Safety of his People; and on the other part, it is

is as just, as necessary for the people, to hold that *Salus Regis suprema lex esto*, the safety of the King, of his Sovereignty and Right, ought to be the paramount Law, without which no safety can be to the publick State, nor to any private mans well-being.

If such Sophisms as these were confined within School-walls, for the exercise of Wits, it were no great matter; but such abused Principles clogged with such paradoxal Consequences, have a mighty Influence upon the multitude, and will make them assume to themselves, or commit to their Representatives an arbitrary Power, which placed in a wrong hand, cannot chuse but produce monstrous Mischiefs. These Maxims with their absurd Consecratories embolden them, authorize them to pull his Crown from his Head, wrest his Sword out of his hands, seize his Ships, Forts, Magazines, Ammunitions and Revenues, if they apprehend it fit for their own good: It will make them break thorow all inferiour Laws, that no more shall we have or know for Law, but what it shall please them to unfold at pleasure out of the Closet of their Breasts. And if this power be in some few, or in many, who are back't by the greater part of the people, having a domineering power over the Judgment and Affections of the people, gulled with fair and false promises, and vain expectation of a glorious Reformation in Church and State: What person how innocent, how well-deserving soever, can be secured in the Liberty of his Person, and Propriety of Life and Goods? Shall it not be a sufficient and just warrant, to commit innocent men to *Jeremiab's* Dungeon, to prove them guilty at Leisure, because they are disaffected to the *Good Cause*? Shall it not be just to take from men, what Portion, what Moiety of their State and Reve-

nues they will, and sequestrate them for the publick, because they cannot confide in them; and the Good Cause must be maintained upon the Estates of Bishops, Malignants, and Delinquents. God forgive you. Remember there is a God in Heaven will call *Abah* to an account for *Naboth's Vineyard*; repent in time and make Satisfaction, before the evil day come upon you. May they not by the same Grounds disarm whom they will, to weaken Gods Enemies? Those Maxims and Sophisms will make way to Rebellion, to murder the most innocent, the most deserving men. It will at last come at that, except God and Sovereignty right it, that it will be a crime to have Wealth, and Treason to be faithful and loyal to King, Church, and State. This Maxim with the annexed Sophisms, is enough to destroy King and Kingdom, Church and State, and at last send the Authors, and those are set on by them packing to Hell: from which good Lord deliver them and all of us.

But what may be the proper, natural, and innocent sense of the words, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*? No doubt they have a good and just sense, if they be not racked upon Tortures beyond their just Extent. It was, as we have said, and as it appeareth by *Cicero de Legibus*, one of the Laws of the twelve Tables, and a paramount Law too. But it is only tantamount, as *Salus publica suprema lex esto*; let the publick Safety of all be the paramount Law. It is transcendent in this Respect, that Government first and principally regardeth the common Good and Safety of the whole; and in the next place it intendeth the private Good of every private singular one subordinately. *Conservatio speciei, est prior conservatione individui*; the Preservation of the spece and whole, is intended more by Nature, than the preservation of any individual.

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The word *Populus* in classical Authors (and its ordinary use) is more than *Plebs*; *Plebs* is *plebs*, a derivative from many; but *Populus* is *populus*, *id est*, a *multipluribus*. *Plebs* comprehends only the vulgar and baser sort of the Society; but *Populus*, *omnes ordines hominum comprehenditur*, comprehends in its extent all men in the Kingdom, of what Condition or Quality soever. *SS. Plebs scitum de jure natural. apud. Justinianum.* *Nicholaus Porretus ad 2. Epigramma Martialis in Cornucopia.* By which it is easily conceived, that in this *Salus populi*, in this *Salus publica*, *Salus Regis* is necessarily involved.

The word *Publicum*, as Latin Authors well observe, is a *populo* and euphony *gratia*, that it may sound the better in our Ears, we pronounce it *Publicum*, not *Populicum*, so that *publick* and *popular* in their original Sense are equivalent. *Populorum actiones* in the Diction of Law, are the same that *Publicae actiones*; *Rebrie de popular. action. actio. P. L. amb quicquid in populatibus de pregar. P. and popularis sacra*; if we will trust *Festus* and *Labeo*, were those solemn Festivities that were kept by all the People; Governours and governed different from those Solemnities which were peculiar to some Families only, as *Formicaria* and *Palilia*. By which it is manifest, that *Salus Regis* in this Law is necessarily involved and implied, as well as *Salus publicum*; and you do not by the one, to exclude the other. *Utrumque* the great, *Junedius* *de scholasticis* *de Justiniano* *de quibus* *P. de finibus* *Publicum*, *quod est* *Repub. Romane* *perit*. But on that that is private he denieth the contrary way; that it is that that belongeth to *singulorum utilitatem*, to the singular and peculiar good of every one singly, as *Cajus* saith, *de re. di. 1. Dm. l. pben. 8. Publicum* *rebus nullum* *in bono esse*; *contra quod singulorum* and *M. Tremellius* *de*

ro hath observed; *Aliud esse populi universi personarum, aliud singulorum, & quod populus est in sua Potestate* (understand him to speak where Democracy is the supreme Government) *singuli in illius*. With what is said, see how it can subsist, that *Salus populi* is to be conceived of the safety of the Subject, without respect to, or consideration of the safety of the Governours. In *Latine* Authors the sense is this; *Salus publica suprema lex esto*. In *Ulpian's* Sense it is, *Salus rei Romanæ suprema lex esto*. The same is the signification of the *Greek* word *δίνος*, for where *Justinian*, *SS. Plebiscitum de jure nature gentium*, explaineth the word *Populus* to contain in it all Orders and Conditions of men within the Empire; his Paraphrast useth the word *δίνος*, which cometh from the word *δένω* to bind together; that *δίνος* is *quasi δένος*, a Chain or eye, and no eye to keep a Multitude together in one, without Government and Governours. I do not deny but the word *δίνος* sometimes in *Greek* signifieth the meaner sort of the people; and *Homer* and others take *δίνος* for an ordinary common man, to which they oppose *Βασιλεύς* and *αὐτοκράτωρ*, a King and Nobleman; and the *Latines* sometime use the word, a popular man for a Plebeian man, or a man of low Condition. So *Plautus*, *Præstat divitem & popularem esse, quam nobilem & mendicantem*. Notwithstanding in its proper, first, and most used Sense, it comprehendeth all men and Conditions of men, not excluding Governours more than Subjects; and so is to be taken in the Law of the 12 Tables, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*.

Let us come and examine *Literam Legis*, (as the Jurists speak) the Letter of the Law. *Salus populi* I find here is *Lex*, a Law; and *Suprema Lex*, the paramount and transcendent Law: then it cannot be racked further, nor wind up to a higher pitch, than to be a

Law, and a supreme Law. The Substantive is *Lex*, the Law; the Epithet and Adjective is *Suprema*, the supreme Law. Then this Law of *Salus populi*, of the safety of the People, is only a Law which is supreme, and above all other Laws; it doth not trench upon the Prerogative of the *Suprema potestas*, upon Sovereignty which giveth the Law. Transcendent it is above all Laws, but seeing it is only *Lex*, a Law, it is not transcendent above *Rex*, the Sovereign in a Monarchy. To interpret it thus, it giveth to the Law an heterogeneous Sense, and is *de genere in genus*, leaping from one kind to another. Do not our Adversaries acknowledge, that during the Democratical Government of the people of Rome; the people had *Summam Majestatem*, *summam potestatem*, and *Legibus solutam*; had the supreme Power, that *Majestas* was *populi*, the People were so much Master of the Law, that they might *abrogare*, *derogare*, *obrogare*, stop the Execution of any Law, take from it, add to it, or totally abrogate it at their pleasure? And will they be so unjust to force this upon us in a Monarchy, with a contrary Sense destructive of Sovereignty and Supremacy in a King?

If we will be pleased to look more narrowly upon the true meaning of this Law, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, it will be so far from putting a curb upon Sovereignty, wheresoever it be fixed, in one, few, or many, and license the People to right Sovereignty upon real and fancied Exigents in Necessity, that upon the other part it will advance Sovereignty. It is most true that all Laws should be proportioned to the publick Good of the Sovereign and People; and so this Law is a transcendent Law, for it is found intrinsically in all Laws, as the transcendent Affections, *unum*, *verum*, and *bonum*, are found intrinsically in all and every

Entity.

Entity. But this is not that which is meant in *Salus populi suprema lex esto*; The meaning is, that the Kingdom or State, not only possibly and probably, but really and existently may be such, that the Sovereign must exerce and exercise an arbitrary Power, not stand upon private mens Interest, or transgressing of Laws, made for the private good of Individuals; but for the Preservation of it self and the publick may break thorough all Laws. This case may be, and sometimes is, as when sudden foreign Invasion, or strong homebred Sedition threaten King and Kingdom, State and Republick with present and almost unavoidable Ruine. As you see in a natural Body, the Physician will rather cut off a gangrened Member, and the Patient resolve to endure it, than that that Cancer corrupt and destroy the whole Body.

Look upon the *Romans* practice (which the Jurists say is *Optimus legis interpret*) and you will find this is the just Sense of the Law. Do not *Livie* and *Dionysius Halicarn.* tell us, that it was ordinary to the *Romans*, in case of extream danger, to chuse a *Dictator*, (the greatest Sanctuary they had in all Extremities) who according to his own Prudence, Arbitrement, and Discretion, was to command and do what he thought fit to be done, and to act for the Preservation of himself and the State? His Commission runs at large; *Videat dictator ne quid detrimenti Respublica capiat*; which *Videat* was not a charge given, for Discharge of which he was not accountable to any, but a full Sovereign intire Commission to rule in Peace and War, in Life and Death, over Persons and Estate, Goods and Honour, without Controulment, Reluctation, or Contradiction; the rule being none else but *Arbitrium boni viri*. He was *subordinate to none*: none was *co-ordinate* with him; nor after the expiring of six Months was

he accountable to Senate, Consuls, Tribunes, any, many, or all; nor controulable by Man, by Law, by Statute, by Custom, or what else in that kind is imaginable.

What can be more apparent then, than that this Law was never made of purpose to warrant People in a real or fancied exigent of necessity, to rise against their Prince? but to allow to Sovereign Power, wheresoever fixed, a more transcendent Power in the case of extreme Danger and Difficulty. Nature teacheth, that in Necessity this is equitable. If any attempt to wound the Head, Arms and Hands, Legs and Thighs will defend with the loss of themselves, before the Head be wounded. If a Canker be in Hand or Foot, before it Gangrene the whole Body, we will condescend to the cutting of them off.

In this sense which we have explained, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*, is a Law that hath no Iniquity in it, but hath a good, just, and equitable Sense. Yet it is not to day onely, or yesterday, that this Maxim hath been abused to work much mischief. This misunderstood Principle or Law put Christ to death. The Scribes and Pharisees, High-Priests and Sanhedrim avouched, *It was necessary that one should dye for the People*; the High-Priest spoke it, not knowing how in a Prophetical sense it was necessary, but meaning that *Salus populi* required it; the whole Land, and all of them were in danger. And in this case, with the influence of this Law, it was enough to alledge *their authority and unanimous consent*. They were not tied to proofs. They had a Law of which they were Interpreters; or if not, they had a *Legislative power*, by which for *Salus Populi* Christ must dye. When Pilate found him innocent, their answer was sufficient, *If he were not a Malefactor we would not have delivered him*
unto

unto thee. *Salus populi*, or nothing else was the Law, the Paramount Law, the axis of all Politicks, to which Pilate's Power delegate from the Romans was subservient. But what was the effect of this work, wrought by this Paramount Law? It wrought the utter extirpation of them and their Posterity. The over-ruling voices of the High-Priests, Scribes, and *Sanbedrim*, forced Pilate to crucifie the God of Glory against his heart, his Conscience. This was high Injustice in him, he acknowledged Christ's Innocency, and knew that for Envy they delivered him up: *Joh. 19. 6. Matth. 27. 18.* He knew besides, that without his Authority he could not be condemned. If we could or would seriously look upon this Example, and make right Use of it, it would deter us from making too much of such deceitful and deceiving Maxims, which in the end will lead us to our total destruction and overthrow.

It was this *Salus populi*, that made Saul to spare, against Gods command, Agag, and the Amalekites. It was this that seduced Zedekiah, made his Lords overrule and overawe him, and clap up Jeremias in the Dungeon. It is a great mistake in which a great and Learned man in this Age doth gather, from the words of a King to his Nobles; *Behold he is in your power, for what is the King that he can do any thing against you?* That the Kings of Judah by some Power equal to them or above them, might be counter-manded. The expression is *de facto*, not *de jure*, intimating that the good King was so over-awed by his Lords, that he could not protect the Lords Servant, the Prophet Jeremias, although he knew he was bound to it, and willing too: When a good King is put in such a case, the state of King and Kingdom are in greatest danger.

There is enough said to discover the grand Impostures of this abused Maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*; for by what is said, it appeareth, 1. That it is not to be conceived in that large sense, as if all Governours and Government were principally for the good of those are governed; it holds not in Marital, nor Despotical, nor in Royal Government by Conquest. 2. Next it taketh as granted (in the sense of our Adversaries) that the compleat and adequate end of Government is *Salus populi*, which is an Errour, for it is *Salus Regis et populi*, and *Salus Regis* hath the first place, without which *Salus populi* cannot be. It hath the Prerogative like to the first Table, and *Salus populi* as the second. To destroy the Prerogative and Royal Power, is to bring ruine to our selves. 3. Thirdly, it is spoken *in ordine ad alias Leges, non ad Regem*, in order to other Laws, not to prove the King the *Extract of the People*, or that by them he is coerced; But that in case of extreme necessity the King for his own and the Kingdoms Safety may break thorow all other Laws, as he thinketh fit in his Discretion to preserve himself and Kingdom. 4. Fourthly, in the sense our Adversaries use it, it cannot but disquiet King and Kingdom, upon real or fancied Fears and Jealousies. 5. Fifthly, misapplied and misunderstood, it hath been the Mother of much mischief. 6. Lastly, let every Subject and Christian within his Majesties Kingdoms consider and remember how he is bound by Nature and Grace to *Salus Regis*, to maintain the Kings Right, Priviledges, and Prerogatives, besides that all of any Quality, and the better sort have taken an Oath to maintain it. With which how any can dispense, I profess I see not, I know not.

We need not spend much time or pains in taking off that other abused Principle, *A King cannot be with-*

out

ut the People, but the People may be without a King, with its Consequence, Ergo, the People are more excellent than the King; for what is already said taketh away the strength of this Argument and Consequence; for if they will resolve their Antecedent thus, or frame their Argument thus, *The People may be without a Governour or Government, Ergo, &c.* The Antecedent is most false, and so can bring home no Conclusion at all. We have proved already, better not to be at all, than to be without Government; and for this cause God fixed Government in one, and appointed a Governour, before ever there were People in the World to be governed. Cicero doth tell us this, *lib. 3. de Legibus. Nihil porro tam aptum est ad Jus conditionemque Naturæ, quam Imperium, sine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.* I know what the Sectary and Jesuit will rejoyn, the People may be under Aristocracie or Democracie in a happy condition, Ergo without Monarchy or a King. I do not blame Aristocracie or Democracie as unlawful Governments, God forbid, for then all their acts of lawful Government could not chuse but be sinful; but that they are univocal species of Government with Monarchy, I can never be induced to believe, (as by Gods Grace we will demonstrate it, *Quest. 2.*) Governments they are, but defective; If man had never fallen into Sin, Aristocracie had never been known, nor Democracie seen in the World, nor were they at first: It was the corruption of Monarchy produced them into the world. Monarchy by God in Scripture is much countenanced, magnified; of Aristocracie or Democracie you have not one Word in Holy Writ to commend them. That a People under Aristocracie or Democracie may have some tolerable subsistence, I deny it not, but that they can

can be in an happy condition I doubt of it; especially for the Church, whose condition can never be happy under any Government but Monarchy: for proof I appeal to all by-gone Ages in the Christian Church, and pray our Adversaries to shew us, where the Church is in Plenty and Honour, where Aristocracy is the Government. In Scripture it is prophesied, *Ecce Reges erunt nutritii tui*, That Kings shall be the Nurse-fathers of the Church, there is no word to that sense for any Government besides Monarchy. If they make use of this Argument to prefer Aristocracy or Democracy to Monarchy, there reasoning is not sure, and concludes not; no more than when I reason thus, a man may walk without Legs of bone and flesh, for he may walk on wooden Legs, if he hath lost his Natural Legs with the blow of a Canon, or by a Gangrene; or he may walk upon Crutches if he be a Cripple, *Ergo*, wooden legs and artificial, or Crutches, are better than the natural legs and feet man is born with.

In brief, no Society can subsist without Government, the best of Governments is Monarchy; and People cannot be happy, except the King and Monarchy be proportioned to that height of Power, Honour, and Wealth, as He be able to secure Himself and Subjects from all Mischief, Iniquity, and Disorder; and the Good, Safety, and Happiness of the Subject is naturally and necessarily involved in the sacred Right and Prerogative of the King. That whosoever conceiveth that the Good of the People can subsist with lessening and weakening the Right of the King, is, as if he should imagine to see the Branches of a Tree bud, flourish, and bring forth Fruit, when they are broken off from the root; or to see a River of running living Water divided from the Source and Fountain of living Water, or to apprehend that the Ray of the Sun can lighten,

lighten, when it is separated from the Body of the Sun. Let never a King imagine his Happiness can subsist or consist without the Happiness, Peace, and Plenty of his Subjects; and let not us that are Subjects imagine that we can be happy, or preserve our Right, our Liberty, our Property, if we account not the Lords Anointed the breath of our Nostrils, and value his Right, His Prerogative, at a higher rate than our Lives. These are by God and Nature so involved mutually one in another, that without destruction to both they cannot be put asunder.

C H A P. XVII.

A King is bound to be as eminent in Sanctity, as He is excellent and high in Power.

THere be a great many more of these new-State-devised Principles, with which our Antimonarchical Sectaries intoxicate the Vulgar; as that Protection and Subjection are of equal extent; That a mixture and temperature of the three proper Species of Government, is the best of Governments; (which, if it be not rightly understood, is a most dangerous Position, and in the sense many conceive it, it is not *Temperamentum Regiminis*, but *Turbamentum*) That *Plus videt oculi quam oculus*; That *Rex est universis minor, singulis major*; That the Charter of Nature intitles us to our defence against Kings; That *Rex est propter populum*; That a King at his Coronation sweareth and covenanteth with his Subjects, which if he perform not, he is punishable, dethronable; That in a Monarchy, The Legislative Power is communicable to the Subject, and is not radically in

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Sovereignty in one, but in more; That *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari & approbari debet*; and a great many more; all which, by Gods help, we shall examine in the subsequent Questions, as every one of them offereth it self in its own proper place. We now come shortly to point at the great Charge of the King, as we have before proved the Excellency of his Sacred Charge and Person.

What we have said of the Excellency of Kings, that they are the derivatives of God, from him by generation, his first-born, God's upon Earth, &c. If it be rightly weighed, it will humble them in the presence of God, in their own esteem, and not suffer them to swell in Pride; it tieth them to a proportionable Sanctity and eminency in Holiness and Integrity, as far in degree above the Ordinary, as they are exalted in State and Honour above the Sons of men. *Isocrates* writing to *Nicoles*, saith to him, *καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νῦν ὅπως ὁσὸν περ ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν ἄλλων προέχεις, τοσούτον καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς αὐτῶν διόσεις*. The sense is the same we have expressed already, the higher in Honour, they are tied to a higher perfection in Virtue. *Saint Austin* saith well, *Tom. 8. enarrat. in Psal. 137. Quanto sublimitas altior est, tanto periculosior est. Ideoque Reges quanto sunt in majori sublimitate terrenâ, tanto magis humiliari Deo debent*. Kings, as related to men, are Gods, in order to Almighty God they are frail and mortal men, *Psal. 82. 6*. They are gods on Earth, yet onely gods of the Earth; and are no less, if not more accountable to God than any other men whatsoever. *He trieth their works, searcheth out their Counsels*; and if they judge not aright, *Horribly and speedily he will come upon them, a sharp judgment shall be to them that are in High places; Mercy will soon pardon the meanest, but mighty men shall be mightily tormented*, (*Wisd. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.*) For
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he who is Lord over all shall fear no man's person, neither shall he stand in awe of any man's Greatness, for he hath made small and great, and careth for all alike. No Difference there is betwixt a Prince and a Peasant except only in this, that as the Prince is higher than all, so his Crime and Sin is above all, and his Punishment will be proportioned to the like and answerable Height.

Princes being derived immediately from God, and with that honour to be the first-born Children of God, and Sons of the most high; what Measure of Holiness, what Degree of Righteousness is required in them, so highly advanced? They should be holy, as their heavenly Father is holy; They should be perfect, as their Father in Heaven is perfect; and this not only in their private Conversation as Christians, but also in their publick Government as Fathers of the Kingdom, and Nurse-fathers of the Church. Nothing addeth more to the Disgrace of a wicked man, than when we reflect upon him, as descended from a noble and high Stem. Solomon saith, Prov. 16. 12. *It is an Abomination for Kings to commit Wickedness: and the fear of the Lord is the Glory of the King.* No Foundation of a King so sure as Obedience to him that made the King. Nothing more dangerous in a King than Rebellion against God. Happy are Kings when they resolve with David, Psal. 85. 8. *I will hearken what the Lord will say unto me.*

But above all, Kings are bound to advance Piety and that both in their private and publick Devotions, and in their publick Government. They ought to be more frequent in their private Devotions than any else, and in the publick to be most reverent in their Gestures, that their practice in Piety, in Devotion, in private, in publick may be exemplary:

Regis

Regis ad exemplum totius componitur orbis.

This Duty they owe to God as *professores fidei*, but they are bound to another, as *propugnatores fidei*, that is, to see that the Purity of Faith and Worship be preserved with that Solemnity and Decency of sacred Places, sacred Things, sacred Persons, sacred Gestures, as God hath prescribed, and the holy Catholick Church hath practised and allowed. The Preservation of the sacred Right and Prerogative royal is that secureth and preserveth the Right and Liberty of the Subject: and it is the maintaining and preserving of God's and holy Church's Right that preserveth Kings and their Crowns. Happy is the King who with *David* can say, *Psal. 26. 8. Lord, I have loved the Habitation of thy House, and the place where thine Honour dwelleth*: upon this he may with *David* confidently pray, *vers. 9. Gather not my Soul with Sinner, nor my Life with bloody men.* If the King's delight be in the *Sanctuary of the Lord*, although Trouble fall upon him, yet Help will come to him out of the *Sanctuary*, that will save both him and his Crown, *Psal. 20.* The highest Honour, the greatest Happiness that ever *David* attained to, was to bring back again the Ark of God, to leave a great Treasure for building of the Temple, *1 Chron. 12. 15. 28.* and to raise the Church, and establish the Worship and Order in it's height of Perfection, *1 Chron. 24. 25, 26.* when he finished this Work, he rejoyced more than ever. Then he said, *Psal. 84. 10. A day in thy Courts is better than a thousand elsewhere*: it was better he a door-keeper in the house of the Lord, than to dwell in the Tents of Wickedness. It was this that made God send to his King Deliverance out of his Troubles, *Psal. 18. vers. 14.* It was this that established his House and Kingdom for ever: it was

that preserved him in his Kingdom, and this

this that crowned him with a Crown of pure Gold here, and of immortal Glory in Heaven.

Kings at their Coronation offer their Crowns, Scepters, and Swords to God at his Altar, and receive them from thence; the one Ceremony signifieth that their Sovereignty cometh to them immediately from God; the other signifieth that they offer all first for the Service of God: It is a Vow or Dedication of themselves and their Power for the Advancement of Gods Glory: To this add, that this is solemnly sworn by them, to maintain the Purity of the Faith, and Worship; and the Privileges and Rights of holy Church; and lastly, all is sealed with the receiving of the Sacrament off the Altar: What then can free Kings from these Ties? And how fearful a thing is it, for them to be principal Actors, or accessory to bad Counsels and Courses, to give up a Church, or to wrong Christ and his Rights?

There be a great many that practise *Machiavel's* Politicks, affirming Princes are no more tyed to Church and Religion, than as both of them are subordinate and subservient to the politick Government, and good Temporal: These are truly Atheists, who, *Jeroboam* like, care not at all for God nor Religion, who abuse them to their own private ends: they may for a short time flourish, but in the end God will root out them and their Posterity, and their Memory shall be had in Execration, as *Peter* is remembered in the Creed, and *Judas* recorded in the Gospel.

There be others who seem more moderate, whose Counsels are no less pernicious, because they seem to speak in a favourable and more specious way, like to the Devil, transforming himself into an Angel of Light: these advise Kings to maintain a Worship, an Order, a Church; but that it is not best to be too
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sumptuous and prodigal in the Maintenance, or endowing the Church richly; nor is it necessary punctually, and precisely to adhere to all Gods Ordinances; and in some cases, say they, a Prince at some Times, at some Exigences, may give way to the undoing of some Ordinances of God and Christ, he may permit some of the Beauty and Solemnity of the Worship to be eclipsed, devest the Church and Churchmen of some Priviledges and Rights, which by *immemorial Possession* they and their Pedecessors have enjoyed, and to which, besides Dedication and Consecration, the Church is by all positive Civil Law and Right entitled no less, (if not more) than Noblemen, Gentlemen, Corporations, or any Subject or Subjects whatsoever. These Counsels for a time may prevail, and the Church may be a little for a little time suppressed and depressed, but if God have Mercy in Store for that Kingdom, it will not continue long. These *Achitophels* tell Kings, that if *Moses's* ten Commandments, the Apostles twelve Articles of the Creed, and the six Petitions of the Lord's Prayer be preserved, it skilleth not for other things, whether Bishop or no Bishop, whether good Christians preach and do ministerial Acts, or only men in sacred Orders, authorised by Consecration and Imposition of hands, whether any Solemnity in the publick Worship or not, whether in sacred Church consecrated, or in a private House or Barn, whether Christ have a Patrimony, or his Seryants be allowed only a Competency at the Discretion of Lay-men, &c. These Counsels and Courses if they be not repented, forsaken, and the Church righted, will prove destructive to Kings, to their Crowns, to their Posterity, and to their Authors and Abettors. King *Saul* for ought we read, did not restrain nor pollute the Worship he found, nor took from their Priests

Priests what was their due, but it is manifest he did neglect God and his Church, his Worship, and his Servants, had less Esteem of God's Servants than of any of his Subjects besides, and yet this is punished with the Forfeiture of Crown and Kingdom to him and his Posterity, and God provideth a man, a King according to his Heart, to right the Church, to order the Service aright, which established his Kingdom and Crown for ever. The Church was the *Alpha* and *Omega* of his Government; he consecrated the beginning of his peaceable Reign with bringing home the Ark; he spent the most of his Reign in ordering and establishing the Service of God with it's Solemnity, and ended his Life and Reign exhorting *Solomon* to do the like, to build the Temple, and leaving by Legacy a great immense Treasure consecrated to this purpose.

If any will look upon these Counsellors, he will find that they have a mighty Zeal and Care of their own Honour and Wealth; how much they remit their Zeal towards God and his House, they intend it as much for themselves and what concerneth their private: they will not willingly dwell but in *Houses of Cedar*, and can see *the Ark of God within Curtains*; this maketh them that they can suffer the Church to be spoiled, if by her Spoils they or theirs can be enriched; Christians they cannot be, whatsoever they profess, they are in a contrary, a contradictory way to Christ; of him it was said, *The Zeal of thine House hath eaten me up*; of them it is verified, *that their Zeal hath eaten up the house of God*. If these men can enjoy their own, make up a state upon the Ruines of the Church, or better a prior estate, they care not although Levites usurp upon Priests, Presbyters upon Bishops, and Christ and his Patrimony be both put

out of the World : Ten shekels of Silver and a Sute of Apparel, *Micah's allowance*, *Judges* 17. 10. is enough and too much for the best of God and Christ's Servants : All in the end will prove *Aurum Tholosanum*, like the collop the Eagle brought from the Altar to feed her young ones, so much Fire came with it that it consumed the Nest and the young ones too.

When the Church of God is in this distress, it is not onely sin to be accessory to these Counsels and Courses, but such as may and are able to prevent these mischiefs and do it not, God will charge them with it. Some there be who profess that they like not the course against the Church, but for reason of State way must be given to the current of the stream, and a fit opportunity waited to right what was amiss ; I will not search the hearts of such men, I leave them to him *who trieth the reins, and knoweth our thoughts afar off* ; onely let me put them in mind, that sins of Omission, of necessary Duties are high sins in the balance of the Sanctuary ; *Meroz* is cursed that came not out to help the Lord : and *Matth.* 25. They are to be condemned in the last Day who fed not Christ when he was hungry, no less than those who robbed him of his Food. It is the highest Service to God, with the Church of *Thyatira*, not to deny the Faith, *where Satan's seat is, where Antipas suffereth for the truth*, *Rev.* 11. 13. If God hath endow'd any with Wisdom, Power and Trust by Princes, and in such time they withdraw their help from God and his Church, it is like they will call to him in the day of their trouble and God will not hear them. Remember, after the reducing of the People from the Captivity, the Prophets did charge the re-building of the House of God ; the Princes of *Judah* answered, *The time is not come, the time wherein the Lord's House*
should

should be built. None was so impudent to come directly contrary to this Charge, but they meant, we are poor, newly come out of Captivity, we have strong Enemies about us, we must wait a better opportunity, a more seasonable time: a juggling trick it is to cross good Works, and crush them substantially, by opposing them onely circumstantially: Notwithstanding all this the Prophet chargeth them, *Is it time for you, O yee!* (this compellation is very emphatical) *to dwell in your cieled Houses, and this House lie waste?* Read the Judgments, I cease to repeat it, I love not to apply it, and wish it be not the Judgment of our Times! See *Hag. i. vers. 1, 2, 3. & a vers. 6. ad vers. 12.* Do not deceive your selves with that imposture, that you will wait upon an opportunity to right all that is disjoyned in Church, you are not to tempt God, to put him to extraordinary Providence, when he has put you in the ordinary way to serve him, and to prevent these mischiefs. Is it lawful and warrantable to you to do Evil, or give way to Evil, and to wait opportunity to do good afterward to salve all this? Or can you expect that God will honour you to make you fit instruments to repair again what is wrong? Certainly, you neither deserve it, nor can lay any claim or interest to it.

If these men fear Covenants and Affociations, I desire them to remember, that as in Scripture the first and happiest Covenant is *the Covenant of Mercy and Grace*, so in the next place we have in Holy Writ mentioned *A Covenant of Levi*: which is the means ordinary God hath appointed to preserve the other. The Scripture telleth us, that it is an high impiety to corrupt *the Covenant of Levi*, *Mal. ii. 8.* Both the one and the other Covenant are Covenants of Salt, that is, of everlasting durance, from which it followeth necessa-

rily that whatsoever Covenant destroyeth the Ordinance of God in the necessary Government of the Church, the Ordinances of the Worship and its Solemnities, cannot be from God, from whence then it comes you may easily guess.

Of all impieties in this kind, there is no higher transgression, than if the *Tribe of Levi*, for some subsistence to themselves and theirs, and to gain popular applause and credit with the Faction, assure Kings they may give way to a popular current and flood, to suffer God's Ordinances to be destroyed, the Solemnity of the Worship defaced, till a better opportunity offer. I beg pardon to speak truth in humility and reverence, and first to Kings, that although Churchmen advise Kings upon such exigents, to do such unwarrantable Acts, yet it will not excuse them in the Day of their Accounts, no more than it excused *Achab* that had the warrant of *Zedekiah*, *1 Kings* 22. 11. Nor did it excuse *Pilate*, who had the representative Body of Priests and State to warrant him they had a Law, and by their Law Christ was a Malefactor and worthy to dye. Next, let me tell the *Tribe of Levi*, who for their own good and popular applause, do comply with a popular Faction, and set their brains on work to make specious shews of Reason, and inducements to persuade or warrant Kings, *by permission and giving way, or by actual concurrence with their Authority*, to permit and do Acts destructive to Christ's Ordinances, or derogatory to the Worship, are near to the sin of Apostacy, and another of an higher degree, which I fear to name. But of all Levites those are the most miserable, who, being advanced to the highest of Sacred Orders, having enriched themselves by the Patrimony of the Church, to keep their purchase, have abjured that Sacred Order as Antichristian, and yet make not restitution

tion of what they have purchased. I wonder how such mens Repentance could be admitted, for in such cases they cannot truly repent, without Restitution; *Non dimittetur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum.* These men come short of *Judas* his Repentance, who was not onely contrite for betraying his Master, but restored the Money which unjustly he had purchased by his Villany. By the detention of their purchase, their Converts declare themselves *Mercenary*, and their Fathers by receiving them into their Communion, publish to the World, they care not what they lose in truth, if they can deceive the People to make them think by such a goodly access their evil Cause is strengthened: I refer these Apostate Bishops to read the story of *Ecebolus*; I wish them not to be in like condition, and cease to apply the story. I thank God there is no rancour in my heart against them nor their Fathers Converters, my imprecations are no other, but to pray Almighty God to give them true Repentance and to forgive them.

The sum of what we have said is this, that neither King nor Kingdom can be happy, if Kings fear not God, and do not from this fear preserve the Right of God and his Church, protect and promote the Ordinances of God, and advance the Worship and its Solemnity. Nor will bad Counsellors excuse them in the Day of their Accounts, nor will the Counsellors escape just Judgment, and it is like God will make the same People a Rod to scourge them, whom they have followed and given way to, with the loss of a good conscience, and offence against God.

As Princes, the Sons of the most High, and Vicerents of Christ upon Earth, are bound to Piety in their personal carriage above other, and to procure and protect it in their publick Government, so they are

bound in their private and publick Conversation and Government to be excellently righteous. The Derivative naturally resembleth its Primitive. God from whom they are by immediate Derivation, *hath no pleasure in wickedness, neither doth evil dwell with him, Psal. 5. 4. Kings hold their Scepters from Christ, The Scepter of Christ's Kingdom is a right Scepter. He loveth righteousness and hateth wickedness, Psal. 45. 6, 7. They are by generation from the Father, Psal. 89. They issue from the thigh of Christ, Rev. 17. 14. & 19. 14. They degenerate then if they be not righteous.*

If Kings live and govern piously and justly, their Thrones shall be established, their Crowns secured, and their Posterity be blessed, *Prov. 25. 5. By righteousness the Throne is established; The good of this will redound to the whole Kingdom, Prov. 29. 4. The King by Judgment establisheth the Land, but he that receiveth gifts overthroweth it. Felix Republica in qua qui imperat timet Deum. See God's charge to Kings, Jer. 22. 1, 2, 3. Execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver the oppressed, &c. vers. 4. For if ye do this thing indeed, then shall there enter in by the gates of this House Kings sitting upon the Throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, he and his servants and his people. vers. 5. But if you will not hear these words, &c. vers. 7. I will prepare destroyers against thee, &c. David the King knew this, Psal. 33. 16. There is no King saved by the multitude of an host. How then? vers. 18. The eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy. He practised it, Psal. 61. 4. I will abide in thy Tabernacle for ever, I will trust in the covert of thy wings. The meaning is, his constant purpose and practice should be holy and just, and to advance Piety and Righteousness: from this issueth that confidence he subjoyneth vers. 6. Thou wilt prolong the King's life, and his years*

as many Generations. vers. 7. He shall abide before God for ever, O prepare Mercy and Truth which may preserve him. See Psal. 72. wholly; Prov. 20. 8. & 29. 4, 14. & 16. 12, 13.

This Truth believed by Kings, that they are immediately sent from God, and Vicegerents upon Earth, is a ground of great Confidence in God in their greatest Troubles, which usually are great and frequent; for as the tallest Cedars they are exposed to the Violence of greatest Tempests; their only way is to run to God for Protection and Deliverance. They may lay claim to it more than any. God is the Principal, they only Lieutenants and subordinate: more favour is allowed to them, greater Protection promised to them. *Psal. 89. 26. He (that is the King) shall cry unto me, Thou art my Father, my God, and the Rock of my Salvation. Also I will make him my first born. David, Psal. 44. 4. approacheth to God in this Confidence; Thou art my King, O God, command Deliverance for Jacob.* A Subject claimeth Protection from the King as his Due, so may the King from his Lord and Master. *Solomon* upon this ground that God had set him upon the Throne of *David*, begged Government and Judgment to go out and in before his People: *1 King. 3.* The Lord did not refuse it, but in his Bounty supererogated what was fit for his more Magnificence. God hath a secret and unknown way in directing and guiding Princes, and no less admirable a way in guarding their Persons, and delivering them out of all their Troubles: *Prov. 21. 1. The heart of the King is in the hand of the Lord as the Rivers of Waters; He turneth it whithersoever he will. Psal. 18. vers. ult. Great Deliverances giveth he to his King, and sheweth Mercy to his Anointed, &c.* The Heathen have acknowledged in Kings some *Heroici impetus*, some strange and extraor-

dinary Inspirations and Directions, seconded with as admirable Successes and Protection; that a *Deus* *71* in them, something extraordinary above that God in his ordinary Providence by Direction or Protection vouchsafeth upon others. I refer you to read and meditate what you have written, *2 Kings* 19. 25, 27. and *Isai.* 42. 1, 27. and you will doubt no more of this Truth. *This day is this Truth fulfilled in our Ears*; we have before our Eyes such a wonderful over-ruling Direction and Protection of our Sovereign in this Rebellion, that we must acknowledge *it is the Lords work, and marvellous in our Eyes*, *Psal.* 118.

This Truth is a strong Motive to perswade Subjects to all Duty. First, to honour, reverence, and obey the King next to God, and above all others. The *Fear of God and the King* are immediately conjoynd and enjoynd together in Scripture: *Prov.* 24. 21, 22, 23. *My Son, fear God and the King, &c.* *1 Pet.* 11. 17. *Fear God, honour the King.* See *Tertullian* to this purpose in the places we cited before: and *Gregory Nazianzen.* *Orat.* 20. which is a funeral Oration for *Basil* the great. The Moral Law hath mixt to the duty we owe to God in the first Table, placed in the first place, *Honora patrem*, Honour the King. What Divinity then can it be which this miserable unhappy Age hath invented and vented, that the Fear of God and the King are inconsistent; and the best Badge of a Christian is to oppose the just and lawful Demands and Commands of Kings? This is none of Christs, his Apostles, nor ancient Christians and Martyrs Doctrine. What Christian heart can be so hard as not to mourn for this, and cry out with that holy Martyr *Polycarp*, Good Lord, for what times hast thou reserved me?

Again

Again, this Truth that Kings are Gods Vicegerents, sent by immediate Commission from him, tyed us to maintain our Kings in Honour, Wealth, and Power, proportioned to so high a Calling. This the word *Honora patrem*, honour thy Father naturally in the Diction and Dialect of the Scripture, imports, 1 Tim. 5. 17, 21. Almighty God, although his Immensity be attended with an *ἀνράθεια* and *ἐνδυναμία*, an able sufficiency and all Felicity, yet hath he sequestered and set a-part some persons peculiarly for his sacred Service, some place for his publick Worship, and some Quota of our Revenues and Industry, that all men may acknowledge His Sovereignty, and their own Dependency from, and Subordination and Subjection to him; so it is the good will and pleasure of God, that all Subjects should in Testimony of their Subjection to Sovereignty, and in true Acknowledgment of their Supremacy, contribute some of their Means for the Maintenance and honour of the King: this is the Apostles Doctrine, Rom. 13. 6. *For, for this Cause pay you Tribute also; for they are Gods Ministers; attending continually upon this very thing.* What can be more fully said? They are immediately from God, They are Gods Ministers; for this Cause then we are bound to pay Tribute. And let the *for* in the Frontispiece of the verse make you reflect your eyes upon that which goeth before, and you will find it is not an arbitrary Right they have to this, which is given upon them by a voluntary Compact or Grant, or extorted by Fear, the Apostle sheweth this we do, *not only for Wrath*, (that is, for fear of Punishment, for in their Power it is to punish those who will not do this Duty) *but for Conscience sake.* This our Lord and Master both taught and practised, *paying Tribute to Cæsar, and commanding to render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's; due to him as Cæsar,*

far, not by grant or compact from the People. And Reason it self evinceth, that this Maintenance should be proportioned to that high Degree and Measure, as may preserve his Glory and Majesty, that it be not lessened or contemned, and as may sufficiently enable him to act and effect the happy works and Fruits of Royal Government to preserve all in Peace and Plenty. See to this purpose *Justin Martyr, Apolog. 2.* and *St. Chrysostom upon Rom. 13. passim.*

This Doctrine, that Kings are immediately from God, and independent from all other Creatures whatsoever, teacheth also, that it is high Rebellion against God to oppose or resist the King. This Consequence the Apostle thus deduceth, *Rom. 13. vers. 1. The Powers that be are ordained of God. vers. 2. Ergo, Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* Pardon me to cite *Chrysostom* upon the words; ὁ μὴ ὑπακούων ἐκείνῳ, τῷ θεῷ πολεμεῖ, τῷ ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντι. καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποδόξει δέξαι πάντα χρεῖ, ὅτι ἐχρηζόμενος αὐτοῖς. ἢ ὑπακούω, ἀλλ' ὀφείλομεν. He that obeyeth not the King, fighteth against God, (what do they then that come in Arms against him?) who by his Law hath established Obedience, and not Resistance: and the Apostle every where, always, and upon all Occasions, endeavoureth this mainly, that our Obedience to Kings is not arbitrary, conditional, or by compact; but necessary, and imposed upon us by God. Holy Scripture is so careful we oppose not sacred Authority, that it hath forbidden it in all it's kinds, all it's degrees. 1. We are not to think a bad Thought of them in our Hearts, *Eccles. 10. 20.* 2. The Tongue is not to speak Evil of them: *Exod. 22. 28. Jud. 8.* Consequently neither

Pen nor Prefs are to write, or print, to their Disgrace and Disadvantage. 3. We are not with *Judas* to lift up our heel. 4. *David's* Heart smote him when he smote *Saul's* Garment. 5. The hand cannot stretch out it self against the Lords Anointed, and the Actor be innocent. 6. It is to fight against God; for he that rebelleth against the King, rebelleth against God. He that blasphemeth the King, blasphemeth God: 1. *Kings* 21. The Prodigal in his Return acknowledgeth, he sinned no less against Heaven than his Father. God hath taken them in *Societatem nominis, in societatem nominis: Psal.* 82. 6. 7. The greatness of the Sin may appear, that the greatest of Judgments fall upon Traytors and Rebels. Scripture is plentiful in Examples of this kind; and all Story witnesseth for it. Remember the Story of *Rudolph* Duke of *Suevia*, who sware Allegiance to *Henry* the fourth, by Pope *Hildebrand* was loosed from his Oath, but miserably died he; and before his Death the right hand with which he sware, was cut off, and say he could to the Bishops, This is the hand was lifted up when I sware Allegiance to my Emperour, justly cut off for my Perjury and Rebellion, for which you are to answer, who put me upon this mischievous Course and Rebellion. See *Aventine* and others: infinite Examples may be alledged. If they escape the Judgment of men by their scarce warrantable Meekness and Clemency, God hath Executioners in store, and ready for them: He will revenge for his own Interell. If the King will not do Justice against a Traytor, God will make his own Friend do it, and if that fail, his own Breast, or both of them, This was *Absalom's* case: 2 *Sam.* 18. 14. Thy Confederates will do it, This was *Sheba's* case: 2 *Sam.* 20. 22. Before an Executioner be wanting, thy own hand shall do it; This was *Achitophel's* case
who

who hanged himself: 2 Sam. 17. 23. And Zimri's case too, 1 Kings 16. 18. If no man will do it, Earth and Hell will do it; This was the case of Korah, Dathan, Abiram, and their Complices: Numb. 16. 23. This is the first Rebellion in Scripture, recorded against Prince and Priest. And take with you *Optatus* Bishop of *Milevis*'s note upon it, no Sin in Scripture recorded hath a Judgment parallel to this. If all Creatures should fail to be Executioners, God will do it by his immediate hand from Heaven: *Psalms* 144. 3. To shut up this, God allowed no Sanctuary for Treason and Traytors, as is manifest in the case of *Joab*, pulled from the Altar, and Justice done upon him.

Lastly, seeing the King is sacred in his Person, in his Power, in his Royal Christian Prerogative, it is high Sacrilege, and Intrusion upon God and the King, to rob him of any part of his Sacred Right. The ancient Church did judge so. *Hosius* writing to *Constantius* an Arrian Emperour, saith ὁ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπων ἀντιλέγει τῷ διαταξαμένῳ Θεῷ. This Holy Father and the whole Church in his time did account it a Theft, and an Opposition to God and his Ordinance by Fraud or Force, to cheat or extort from a King any thing due to his ἀρχή, his Empire, his Sovereignty. It was not dreamed of then, that an Excellency could be set up against a Majesty, or a Coordinate power erected with Sovereignty. In the happy time of the Christian Church this was the greatest Robbery, the highest Sacrilege, the most violent Intrusion upon God and his Anointed.

The best and readiest way for all Happiness to a Kingdom, is when the King considereth that his Greatness and Glory consisteth in the Happiness of his Subjects, and proportioneth all his Actions and Government

ment to their Peace and Plenty; and the People on the other part when they level their Intentions, Actions, Endeavours and Obedience, to preserve his Sacred Person, His Sacred Right, and Royal Prerogative. Let none divide those things God hath conjoyned. When People are thus affected, it will move Kings for the good of their People, with *Saul*, to be ready to sacrifice *Jonathan*; or with *Codrus*, to dye himself for the Safety of his People; or with *David*, in great Judgments from God, to be powerful Intercessors with God to remove his Plagues, to say, *Quid meruere oves?* what have the poor sheep done? smite me and my Fathers house: 2 *Sam.* 24. Like to the good shepherd, to lay down his life for his sheep: *Joh.* 10. And this will work in the People such zeal and affection to their Sovereign, that they will be ready to lose Lands, Riches, Honour, Life, before their King suffer in Honour, in his Sacred Power, Sacred Right, and Sacred Person. If the Head be well, the Body fareth the better, and when the Body is in good health and constitution, the Head is the better, less trouble, no pain: For proof of this, I refer you to that noble passage of *Justin Martyr*, cited before, *quest. & respons. ad Orthod. q.* 138. Read the whole passage, it is an expression *in se de propria*, in a convenient and proper place.

In Sum, the Result of all is, that from this truth, that Kings are immediately from God and Christ, independent from all others, there issueth a great many excellent and useful Corollaries: as first, That the excellency of their Dignity is not a motive (if it be well weighed) to make them swell *Lucifer*-like in Pride, for the weight of their great and difficult Charge will force them of all men to be most humble. *Officiis quis idoneus istis?* Their Crowns are dependent from Christ and his Crown, and truly considered are onely

Crowns

Crowns of thorns : such as *Dionysius* said, an understanding man would not take up if it were lying at his feet. Secondly, as Kings are nearer to God than any Creatures in the low Universe, so are they tied to approach nearest to him in Holiness and all Humane and Christian Perfection. Thirdly, they are bound to all care, endeavour, and zeal for Christ's Glory, his Truth, the Sincerity and Solemnity of his Worship, and that not onely as men and Christians, but as Kings and Fathers of the State, and Nurse-fathers of the Church. Fourthly, howsoever exempted from Humane Law and coercion, yet they are to live and reign according to the Law and Prescript of God and Christ, which if they transgress, they shall receive Punishment proportionable to their high Dignity, and according to their Demerit for betraying the high Trust put upon them. Fifthly, Although the Royal Right be not founded in *saving holiness and sanctity*, but is *sacred in another respect*, by a delegate Power and Trust, yet the way to secure their Crowns, their Posterity, in the Right transmissible from them, and to make their Kingdoms happy, is to live piously in Private and Publick Devotions, and to intend at first, and do it most in their Sacred Government. Sixthly, next to Almighty God, the highest Honour, Reverence, and Obedience is due to him. Seventhly, and Maintenance from their Subjects, proportioned to their high Dignity, and to enable them to act and do what is necessary and expedient for God's Glory, the good of the Church, and Peace, Plenty, and Protection of the Subject. Eighthly, to resist him, oppose him, in thought, word or deed, is Rebellion against God himself. Ninthly, it is high Sacrilege, and not onely Royal but Divine Usurpation, to trench upon the Kings Sacred Right.

To shut up all that concerneth this first Question, I humbly beg pardon to intreat in all reverence my Lord the King to look upon a Speech of St. Augustine, worthy of the reading and meditation of all and the best of Christian Kings, he will find it, *Tom. 5. lib. 5. de Civ. Dei, cap. 24.* which verbatim is thus, *Reges felices eos dicimus, si justè imperant, si inter linguas sublimiter honorantium, & obsequia nimis humiliter salutantium non extollantur; sed se homines esse meminerint, suam potestatem ad Dei cultum maxime dilatandum Majestati ejus famulam faciant; si Deum timent, diligunt, colunt; si plus amant illud regnum ubi non timent habere consortes; si tardius vindicant, si facile ignoscunt; si eandem vindictam pro necessitate regende tuende Reip. non pro saturandis inimicitarum odiis exerunt; si eandem veniam non ad impunitatem iniquitatis, sed ad spem correctionis indulgent; si quos asperè aliquando coguntur decernere, misericordie lenitate & beneficiorum largitate compensant; si luxuria tanto eis est castigatio, quanto possit esse liberior; si malunt cupiditatibus pravis quam quibuscumque gentibus imperare & si hæc omnia faciant, non propter ardorem inanis gloriæ, sed propter charitatem felicitatis æternæ; si pro suis peccatis, humilitatis, & miserationis, & orationis sacrificium Deo suo vero immolare non negligunt. Tales Christianos principes dicimus esse felices interim spe, postea re ipsa futuros, cum id quod expectamus evenierit.* O golden expressions, worthy to be set in Letters of Gold, with most precious Stones and Diamonds, and then put upon all Royal Crowns! It is a short (but a thousand-fold better) expression of what we have said. *Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Xenophon* in his fancied *Cyropædia* had never the like; it is worth all they have said, all they have written on this subject, in this kind.

Let me add a word or two to our selves who are Subjects. Let us learn to give to the Lord's Anointed his

his due, if we will approve our selves good Christians, like to our Master, the Lord Jesus Christ, like to his Apostles, like to the ancient and holy Fathers and Martyrs of the Church. Let us never deceive our selves, like to the Jews, who claimed to be the Sons of Abraham, when they wrought the Works of their Father the Devil, Joh. 8. Let us not shame our selves, and Reformed Catholick Religion, by turning Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, and deter all Kings in the Christian World to come to the Profession of Reformed Truth, and Communion of our Church. And that this may be done the more successfully, Let us all pray ;

Lord, hear our King in the day of trouble. The Name of the God of Jacob defend him. Send him help out of the Sanctuary, and strengthen him from Sion. Remember all his Offerings, and accept his burnt Sacrifices. Give him according to his own Heart, and fulfil all his Counsel, that we may rejoyce in thy Salvation. Teach us his Subjects to fear thee and the King, and not to meddle with them are given to change. Continue the Loyal in Repurance, Obedience and Subjection. Reduce the Sons of Belial to their Obedience ; make thy Spirit fall upon all, that we may say, thine are we, O King, and on thy side ; that the Peace and Beauty of thy Sion may be restored, thine Anointed with his Sacred Right re-seated upon his Throne, the bleeding wounds of the Land may be bound up, the Peace of the Kingdom re-established, and whatsoever else is disjoynted may be set aright. Do it, do it good Lord, not for us, or for our merits, but for thy Son Jesus, the All-sufficient merits of thy Son, and the precious Redemption of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST.

And let every good Christian, all loyal-hearted Subjects, who pray for the Peace of Sion, and building up of the walls of Jerusalem, say, Amen. *Soli Deo Gloria.*

F I N I S.



